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MEXICO,

AND

THE UNITED STATES;

THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS

AND

COMMON INTERESTS.

BY

GORHAM D. ABBOT, LL. D.

WITH PORTRAITS ON STEEL OF JUAREZ AND ROMERO,
AND COLORED MAPS.

NEW YORK:
G. P. PUTNAM & SON, 661 BROADWAY.
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PREFACE.

This work originated in an examination, some years since, of the geographical relations of our own,—the middle continent,—to the continents of Europe and Asia; and, of the prospective influence and effect of the institutions, political, civil, and religious, of our country, upon the progress of civilization and Christianity in the Old World.

The events of the last decade, have irresistibly drawn still farther attention to the subject, and especially to the great Isthmus section between the continents—the key to the future of the hemisphere.

It is impossible to understand the real characters, or the real merits of the conflict in Mexico, without considering certain great historic facts and events, which, though remote in their origin, have been potent causes of the great final results.

The germs of the difficulty were planted as long ago as the conquest;—indeed, their origin dates back a thousand years. During the last three hundred and fifty years, the development of the original evils, in the governmental policy of Mexico, has made that land almost a Golgotha among the nations.

The object of this work is, to present a sketch of the history and progress of events in Mexico, as briefly as possible, in order to show the connection and relations of the *past* with the *present;* together with such a condensed view of the principles and acts of the different parties, as may aid in forming a definite and correct idea of the *real living* issues of the contest; and, in indicating the true, international policy, which the mutual interests of Mexico and of the United States require.

The work will not be in vain, if it shall contribute, in any

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degree, to correct erroneous impressions, or misrepresentations in regard to the principles and acts of the liberal, republican patriots of Mexico; or, to encourage or cheer them in their great work; or, to show that, like Washington and the Fathers of our Republic, they are struggling not for themselves alone, but are fighting "FREEDOM'S BATTLE" for all mankind, and for posterity; or, to throw any light upon our great continental questions, which, in other forms, are now marshalling, all over the world, the antagonistic forces of old despotisms, and of the progressive civilization of the age.

The original intention was to include in this volume, the consecutive history down to the present day, and, in an appendix, certain illustrative historical documents. The limits of the work, and the extent of the materials forbade. It was found impossible to embrace any more of the constitutional history, than the period, from the original project in 1824, down to the final adoption of the present constitution of the Republic in 1859.

The continuation involves the history of the Intervention, and of the policy and action of the Great Powers,—England, France, Spain, Austria, and Rome,—during the last ten years, a period which has called forth in Europe, more than sixty publications, volumes and pamphlets, on the subject.

The history of this period, political and military, is too important to be slightly or superficially attempted.

A full and fair exposition of the present status, resources, and prospects of Mexico, deserves a volume in itself. These will undoubtedly, sooner or later, be given to the world.

GORHAM D. ABBOT.

NEW YORK, *January*, 1869.

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MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES.

PART I.

THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEWS OF THE WESTERN CONTINENTS, OF THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.

The great "Western Question."

ALL Europe has been moved for years with the "EASTERN QUESTION,"—TURKEY, and the transit for the commerce of Asia, between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

All America should not be less concerned with the "WESTERN QUESTION,"—MEXICO, and the transit of our great Isthmus, for the commerce of the Western Hemisphere, between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans.

English statesmen have called British India, with its vast commercial interests, the 'jewel pendent' of Asia. Mexico is the 'jewel bracelet' of the New World. To understand this, it is necessary to consider the double continent, North and South, the great connecting Isthmus, and the mutual relations of the three.

If there had been no Continent for Columbus to discover, there would have been, from Spain westward to Japan, one vast, unbroken waste of waters, covering more

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than two hundred degrees of longitude, and an area of some fourteen thousand miles square.

The Continents of America.

The Continents of America, North and South, connected by their narrow Isthmus, divide this watery waste. "The United States and Mexico," interposed between Europe and Asia,—"The Middle Continent" of all, flanked by the two great oceans, that are destined to bear the great trunk commerce of the nations, stand in their geographical and relative position, as if ordained by Divine Decree to become the great maritime and commercial powers of the future.

The relations of the Continents.

They stand in their relations to the rest of the habitable globe, and to oceanic communication with the civilized world, much as the narrow projection of Italy into the Mediterranean Sea stood to the dominion of the Roman Empire, East and West. Then, the Mediterranean Sea was the centre, and its surroundings constituted the Roman world. Now, "The middle Continent" is to be the centre, and its surroundings for the future development of commerce, civilization and Christianity among the nations, are the oceans and the hemispheres.

North America.

The Continent of North America contains eight millions of square miles. South America, seven millions. The aggregate, FIFTEEN MILLIONS of square miles, is about four times the size of all Europe, and equals about three-tenths of the whole land surface of the globe. The Eastern portals face the rising Sun, stand "vis à vis" to Europe, and the golden gates of the West are opening wide towards Asia and Oceanica. This territory covers in the Western hemisphere, the entire historic zone traced in the Eastern, by the course of empire and the progress of civilization, from the cradle of the race in the "Mother Continent," down to the present time.

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Territorial Characteristics.

Unlike other Continents, where three-fifths of the whole surface are covered with inaccessible mountains and high table lands, scarcely habitable for man, in North and South America, three-fifths of the surface consists of vallies, prairies and plains of inexhaustible fertility. The area of the basin of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers alone, is estimated at one million three hundred and fifty thousand square miles,—nearly twice the aggregate of all Great Britain, France, Spain and Germany combined. The coast line of the Continent is estimated at between forty and fifty thousand miles; that of Europe, is twenty thousand miles, of Asia, thirty-six thousand.

The United States.

The territory of the United States embraces an area nearly equal to that of all Europe. The great continental outlines of its geography, no less than its unique geographical position, indicate its destiny. The grand divisions of the land, their respective physical features and capabilities, are now defined and understood.

The Eastern section of this territory,—the Atlantic slope, thirteen hundred miles in length, by an average of one hundred and fifty miles in width,—the great Continental incline towards the vast interior,—has been mainly the theatre of the first half century of its settlement and civilization.

The Great Valley.

The valley,—a thousand miles square, guarded, as it were, on the East and the West by the ranges of the Alleghanies and of the Rocky mountains, our mighty continental bulwarks, shows the progress of enterprise in the second half century.

The Pacific slope, not yet a quarter of a century old, has almost staggered human credulity, by the magic growth of its agriculture, commerce, wealth and cities. Imagination is baffled at any attempt to forecast its future.

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Geographical Relations and its Institutions.

This united land, inter-oceanic, in respect to all the conditions of maritime supremacy, inter-continental, in respect to the population, productions, manufactures and commerce of the world; with its inexhaustible internal resources of every material and product that affords food, clothing, or comfort for man; with a diversified climate adapted to every race and temperament; with political, civil, social, moral and religious institutions favoring universal education and the protection and security of every man in the enjoyment of his "inalienable rights," all foreshadow a development of humanity on these shores, within half a century to come, transcending all the dreams of statesmen or philanthropists.

The Government and people of the United States have no reason to envy any other government, or people, or land of the earth; and least of all, to covet any Naboth's vineyard. It is not surprising that monarchs and nobles, and the despotisms of the old world, should look with anxious apprehensions at the growth of this great power, at the kindling of this great light, at the influence of the *great ideas* that underlie our institutions, and are the secret of our prosperity and happiness.

But we turn to Mexico.

MEXICO.—TERRITORIAL EXTENT AND PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The Republic of Mexico.

The Republic of Mexico extends from about the 15th to the 30th degree of North Latitude, and embraces in its range, its plains, table lands and mountain ranges, all the climates and productions of the tropics and of the temperate zone. In its extent, resources and capabilities, in varieties of climate and soil; in its

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known, and in its yet unknown treasures of precious metals and gems; and in the exuberance of its supply of every article needful for the food, clothing, medicine, comfort, and luxury of man, it has no superior.

Extent of Territory. Its extreme length is two thousand miles; its extreme breadth eleven hundred miles. It has a coast line on the Gulf and on the Caribbean Sea of sixteen hundred miles; and on the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California, of four thousand two hundred miles; —a larger coast line, it is believed, in proportion to its area, than any other country of equal extent in the world. It joins the United States by a coterminous boundary of eighteen hundred miles.

The Mexican States. Area of Territory. The twenty-five States, the Federal District, and the Territory of the Republic contain an area of 862,460 square miles—an aggregate equal, within a fraction, to all the twenty-five United States east of the Mississippi river. It is a territory ten times larger than all Great Britain, and nearly equal, in extent to all France, Spain, Austria, Lombardy, and the British Isles combined.

Physical characteristics. The area of Mexico is divided by nature into three clearly defined and separate regions; the highlands, or mountain districts; the table lands, or temperate regions; and the lowlands and basins, having the varied characteristics of the torrid zone. Above them all, peer the volcanic summits, and peaks of perpetual snow.

The mountain ranges arrest the moisture wafted by aerial currents from the Atlantic and the Gulf; the lofty crests congeal it in eternal snows; the mountain breasts condense it in fertilizing rains; and the lowlands receive the descending streams that enrich a soil of inexhaustible fertility.

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Of this immense region, more than three-fifths enjoy rather a temperate than a torrid climate. The proximity of the oceans, the peculiar conformation of the land, its elevation above the level of the sea, and the sweep of mild, aerial currents from the waters, temper the severities both of cold and heat, and make, for large sections of the territory, one of the most balmy and delightful climates in the world.

Physical conditions.

The peculiar characteristics of this territory, in respect to climate and productions, are determined less by latitude, than probably those of any other portion of the globe. Its physical geography and peculiar relations to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, make it altogether a country "sui generis." The oceanic and atmospheric currents determined and defined by the continental conditions, and the motion of the earth, and especially by the marked depression at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the great range of the Cordillera of the continents, together with the diversities in the elevation of different districts, give this little range of about fifteen degrees of latitude, all the varieties of climate, soil, and productions of the torrid, the temperate and the frigid zones. Its volcanic peaks and mountain regions, its plateaux and lowlands, diversified in countless forms of beauty, magnificence and sublimity, have long been the themes on which travellers and historians have lavished their admiration.

The following tables exhibit the areas, and the population of the Mexican States, and those of the United States, east of the Mississippi river. A slight comparison is sufficiently suggestive of the extent and the importance of the Mexican Republic, and of the inducements of European monarchs to destroy its independence, and erect an Empire for themselves upon its ruins.

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TABLE OF THE AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, AND THEIR POPULATION IN 1860.

	SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.
Maine	32,000	628,000
New Hampshire	9,000	326,000
Vermont	9,000	315,000
Massachusetts	7,800	1,231,000
Rhode Island	1,200	175,000
Connecticut	4,700	460,000
New York	47,000	3,881,000
New Jersey	8,300	672,000
Pennsylvania	46,000	2,906,000
Delaware	2,000	112,000
Maryland	9,300	687,000
Virginia	61,000	1,596,000
North Carolina	45,000	993,000
South Carolina	24,500	703,000
Georgia	58,000	1,057,000
Florida	59,000	140,000
Alabama	51,000	964,000
Mississippi	47,000	791,000
Ohio	40,000	2,340,000
Michigan	56,000	749,000
Wisconsin	54,000	776,000
Illinois	55,000	1,712,000
Indiana	34,000	1,350,000
Kentucky	38,000	1,157,000
Tennessee	43,000	1,111,000
	841,800	26,832,000
The British Isles	122,000	
France	205,000	
Spain and Portugal	219,000	
Austria	257,000	
	803,000	

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TABLE OF THE AREAS OF MEXICAN STATES, WITH THEIR POPULATION, IN 1860.

STATES.	SUPERFICIAL OR SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1858.
Aguascalientes	2,739	88,329
Chiapa	18,679	167,472
Chihuahua	83,512	164,073
Cohahuila	36,572	67,590
Durango	48,489	144,331
Guanajuato	11,396	729,103
Guerrero	32,003	279,109
Jalisco	48,591	804,058
Mexico	19,539	1,129,629
Michoacan	22,993	554,585
Nueva Leon	16,688	145,779
Oajaca	23,642	525,938
Puebla	8,879	658,609
Queretaro	1,884	165,155
San Luis Potosi	28,142	397,189
Sinaloa	33,722	163,714
Sonora	100,228	139,374
Tabasco	12,359	70,628
Tamaulipas	30,344	109,673
Vera Cruz	27,415	349,125
Yucatan	48,869	668,623
Zacatecas	27,768	296,789
TERRITORIES.		
Lower California	60,662	12,000
Colima	3,019	62,909
Isla de Carman	7,298	11,807
Sierra Gorda	3,127	55,358
Tehuantepec	12,526	82,395
Tlaxcala	1,984	90,158
DISTRICT.		
Federal District	90	269,534
Total	862,460	8,400,236

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CHAPTER II.

MEXICO UNDER THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.—HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Ancient Mexico, prior to 1520.

WHATEVER may be the speculations in regard to the origin of the inhabitants of Mexico, the character and degree of their civilization are unmistakable. When first discovered, Mexico was more thickly peopled than any other portion of the continent. Cortez found an Empire, cities, palaces, pyramids, like those of Egypt; temples, ruins, hieroglyphical inscriptions, and all the traces of an ancient and idolatrous civilization. Gigantic and magnificent monumental remains told of a former race, and of their achievements in architecture and art.

Early History.

The history of the early inhabitants, of their origin and races, religion, manners, customs, wars and conquests, is involved in great uncertainty. Humboldt, and many others, have supposed that the ancient Mexican races were of Asiatic origin, and that the migration from Eastern Asia by way of the Pacific Ocean or Behring's Straits, commenced with the "Toltec Tribes" about A. D. 700, and was followed by other migrations, and finally by the "Aztecs," about A. D. 1200. The physical organization of the people, the character of their civilization, hieroglyphic records and Mexican traditions, rather support this opinion.

The Toltecs. A.D. 700.

The "Toltec Dynasty" is supposed to have lasted 400 or 500 years, when for some reason unknown, they moved further south to the provinces of Central America, and were succeeded in Mexico by the "Aztecs." Prior to the Spanish conquest, the Toltecs were the most civilized of all the Mexican races. But when Cortez ar-

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rived, the Aztecs, under Montezuma, occupied the country previously in possession of the "Toltecs."

The Aztecs. A.D. 1200.

The "AZTEC EMPIRE" comprised only the present States of Mexico, Queretaro, and a part of Vera Cruz. But it held more or less control over other monarchies and republics around them. The descendants of the Aztecs, now called *Mexican Indians*, live in the villages and towns of this section. They speak, besides the Spanish, their ancient language, now called "*Mexican.*"

The "AZTEC DYNASTY" is traced for about 300 years, culminating in the Empire of the Montezumas, which fell in 1520, under the Spanish invasion and conquest by Cortez.

Wars of the Dynasties.

The convulsions and wars which marked the progress of the two Dynasties were like those in the early stages of ancient European Empires. Chieftains, tribes, republics and petty kings were waging incessant wars with each other. The waves of conflict swayed to and fro, changing perpetually the territorial limits and the allegiance of smaller tribes in every direction, until, in about 1352, the "Aztec Empire" was consolidated under its first king.

The Montezumas.

In 1436 Montezuma I. came to the throne. In 1502, after two intervening sovereigns, Montezuma II. succeeded. During the reigns of the Montezumas, the Aztec Empire attained a pitch of grandeur, to which no society had ever attained in so short a period. It had subsisted only for a hundred and fifty years, and had extended its dominion from the north to the Pacific Ocean on the south, over territories stretching 1,500 miles from east to west, and more than 600 miles from north to south.

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THE AZTEC INDIANS.

Indian Races.

The term "Indian" was applied to all the aboriginal inhabitants of the colonies of Spain, because the islands and lands discovered by Columbus were supposed to belong to the group now known as the *East Indies*. By sailing westward, the navigators discovered these lands, which they called the *West Indies*, and the inhabitants, "West Indians." The "Aztecs," or *Mexican Indians*, and the *North American Indians*, are of totally different races and types of humanity.

Population.

There is no record of any enumeration of the inhabitants of Mexico prior to the conquest. The estimates and statements of different historians of that period are various and contradictory. The number of victims of war, of massacre and slavery, are rarely reported by oppressors. Many adverse interests have led to a concealment of the actual numbers at different times. The number of inhabitants in the large cities, and in some of the provinces, furnish some clew to the aggregate. The City of Mexico is almost universally stated to have had a population of *three hundred thousand*. The neighboring Republic of Tlascala was reputed to have had 500,000 heads of families. In various contests of Cortez with the forces he encountered, his contemporaries often numbered his adversaries at *fifty thousand men*. From such data, and from the statements of Las Casas, and the Bishop of Chiapa, it has been supposed that the population of the Empire was not less than THIRTY MILLIONS.

THE PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND DISPOSITION OF THE AZTECS.

Portrait of the Mexicans.

The Abbé Clavigero, who resided nearly forty years in the provinces of New Spain, and who

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wrote the history of Mexico, of that period, has given the following description of the Aztecs :

"*They are of good stature, generally exceeding, instead of falling short of, the middle size.* They are well proportioned in all their limbs. They have good complexions; narrow foreheads; black eyes; clean, firm, regular, white teeth; thick, black, coarse, glossy hair; thin beards; and, generally, no hair upon their legs or thighs. Their skin is of an olive color; there is scarcely a nation upon earth where there are fewer deformed persons; and it would be more difficult to find a single hump-backed, lame, or squint-eyed man among a thousand Mexicans, than among a hundred of any other nation. The unpleasantness of their color, the smallness of their forehead, the thinness of their beard, are so far compensated by the regularity and fine proportion of their limbs, that they can neither be called very beautiful nor the contrary; but seem to hold a middle place between the extremes. Their appearance neither engages nor disgusts. Among the young women of Mexico, there are *many very beautiful and fair*, whose beauty is at the same time rendered more winning by the sweetness of their manner of speaking, and by the pleasantness, and natural modesty of their whole behavior."

General Character.

"They are very moderate in eating, but *their passion for liquors is carried to great excess.*

"Their minds are at bottom in every respect like those of the other children of Adam, and endowed with the same powers. The Europeans never did less credit to their own reason, than when they doubted that of the Americans. The state of civilization among the Americans when they were first known to the Spaniards, was much superior to that of the Spaniards themselves, when

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they were first known to the Phœnicians, that of the Gauls when they were first known to the Greeks, or that of the Germans and Britons when first known to the Romans. It should have been sufficient to check such an error of man's mind, if it had not been the interest of the inhuman avarice of some ruffians to encourage it. Their understandings are fitted for every kind of science, as experience has shown. Of the Mexicans who have had opportunities of engaging in the pursuit of learning, which is but a small number, the greater part are always engaged in the public and private works. But we have known some good mathematicians, excellent architects, and learned divines. Many persons allow the Mexicans to possess a great talent for imitation, but deny them the praise of invention; a vulgar error, which is contradicted by the ancient history of that people."

Moral Traits.

"Their minds are affected by the same variety of passions as the people of other nations, but not in an equal degree. Mexicans seldom exhibit those transports of anger or frenzies of love, which are so common in other countries. They are slow in their motions, *and show a wonderful tenacity and steadiness in those works which require time and long-continued attention.*

"They are most patient of injury and hardship, and, where they suspect no evil intention, are most grateful for any kindness."

The Ancient Civilization.

The extent of the dominion of Montezuma, his character and court, and the political and social organization of the government, witnessed the advanced state of civilization in the Empire of the Aztecs. The administration of government, and the organization of industry, for the maintenance of its vast population, was not the work of barbarism. To feed, to clothe, to

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make law, to define and regulate the rights and duties of citizens, and to preserve law and order in society, demand legislative and administrative talent of high order.

Agriculture. The progress of agriculture, the varied products of the soil, in cereals and fruits, revealed no ordinary degree of cultivation and taste. Their horticulture, ornamental and medicinal, gardens of plants, floating gardens, scientific irrigation and canals, indicated the progress of knowledge.

The roads and highways of the Aztecs are represented by Humboldt and others as rivalling in their structure, the old Roman roads of Italy.

Evidences of a high Civilization. The monumental remains of their architecture, in temples, pyramids and palaces; the progress they had made in arts and manufactures—of threads and cloths, in pottery and metallurgy; the organization of trade, and systematic provision for its wants, in money, weights, and measures; their extraordinary astronomical knowledge; in fine, their whole political, theocratic, military and social economy, marked the interior life of a highly civilized and cultivated people.

The stories related by their conquerors of the bloody rites and cannibalism of the Aztecs, should be taken with some allowance.

It has been stated, that at the consecration of the great Temple, under the predecessor of Montezuma II., *sixty thousand* victims were offered. The historian says, "They ranged the prisoners in two files, each a mile and a half in length, terminating at the Temple, where, as soon as the victims arrived, they were sacrificed." Such a story carries upon its face its own refutation. The Spaniards must have been severely pressed to justify their own atrocities.

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CHAPTER III.

THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.—GENERAL VIEW.

Sketch of the Conquest. 1520.

THE general history of the conquest is well known. But the halo that surrounded the discovery of the new continent, and its possession by Christian powers, blinded the perceptions and blunted the sensibilities of Christendom to the monstrous and inhuman atrocities of the Conquerors.

Cortez and his followers were men of violence and blood, little better than a horde of pirates and banditti. "They had committed crimes," says Michel Chevalier, "which, by the laws of all nations, could be expiated only by a gallows for the principal, and the galleys for his followers."

Character of the Enterprise.

Poor, ambitious, and unprincipled, they sought in a desperate adventure the distinction and wealth they could otherwise never attain. The enterprise in boldness and bravery challenged the admiration of the age in which they lived:—in the perfidy and cruelty with which it was conducted, it deserves and will receive the execration of all coming ages. Herod of Judea and Cortez of Mexico may well divide the honors between them as monsters of human wickedness and crime.

The Conquest and the Conquerors.

The London Quarterly Review for October, 1860, says: "The early history of South America must for ever stand out preëminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its conquest and settlement form one of its deepest tragedies; for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the

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fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the multiplying villainies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the trans-atlantic empire of Spain have, from the day in which she first planted her foot in the New World to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of His creatures, and the power of man to counteract them."

Character and objects of Emigrants.

Professor John W. Draper, in his work on the "Civil Policy of America," speaks of this history in the following terms: "The discovery of America by Columbus completed the wonderful change in Europe, begun by the crusades. The crusading outrush to the East, was followed by an outrush of adventurers to the West. Religious sentiment was superseded by avarice. There was not a people in Europe that did not become involved. As might be expected from her position, Spain was profoundly implicated in all her social ranks. Her men of influence in civil life, in military life, in ecclesiastical life, all emigrated across the ocean. The thirst for gold was too strong for even the pride of family. A paradise of unbounded sensual enjoyment in this life; riches exceeding whatever the wildest dreams of fanatical alchemists had ever suggested—a realized El Dorado—these were temptations which the hot Spanish blood could not resist.

Spain and her Victims.

"What Spain did on this Continent can never be too often related—it ought never to be forgotten. She acted with appalling atrocity to those Indians, as though they did not belong to the human race. Their lands and goods were taken from them by Apostolic authority. Their persons were next seized under the

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text, that 'the heathen are given as an inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth as a possession.' *It was one unspeakable outrage:* one unutterable ruin, without discrimination of age or sex. They who died not under the lash, in a tropical sun, died in the darkness of the mine. From sequestered sandbanks, where the red flamingo fishes in the gray of the morning—from fever-stricken mangrove thickets, and the gloom of impenetrable forests—from hiding-places in the clefts of the rocks, and the solitude of invisible caves,—from the eternal snows of the Andes, where there was no witness but the all-seeing sun, there went up to God a cry of human despair. By millions upon millions, whole races and nations were remorselessly cut off. The Bishop of Chiapa affirms that more than *fifteen millions* were exterminated in his time. From Mexico and Peru, a civilization that might have instructed Europe was crushed out."

Historic Associations.

This remarkable territory has been the theatre of some of the most extraordinary events in history. Here flourished for centuries great Empires of antiquity, antedating in their origin and course all else that is known of the Continent. Their monumental inscriptions and remains are a fair counterpart to Egyptian and Assyrian ruins. They carry us back far into the regions of the unknown past, and indicate a civilization that has passed from the face of the earth: an idolatrous, pagan civilization, whose doom, like that of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Greece, and the antediluvians, only furnish further illustration of the eternal decree, that the kingdom and nation that will not serve Jehovah shall perish.

The great Tragedy of the 16th Century.

Here was enacted one of the darkest, most deadly and demoniacal tragedies in the annals of time. In the name of religion, the deed was done.

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A simple, gentle, docile race was all but exterminated. It was as if the mountain ranges of the continent were one great altar, and the teeming millions of its valleys, the victims of the sacrifice.

The attempted repetition of the 19th Century.

Here, too, in our own times, under our own eyes, the world has witnessed the performance of a drama in all its acts, to the final "exeunt omnes," which has thrilled the world.

The stage was our continent; Europe, Asia, Africa, and all America spectators. The plot was gigantic. Empires, kingdoms, and thrones were concerned. Kings, Queens, and Nobles, courts, cabinets and councils, armies and navies, were actors in the scenes. "The Great Powers," mighty and magnanimous, joined to crush again the aspirations of an enfeebled race, struggling at the work of self-culture, self-elevation, self-government and improvement.

The European Plot.

But more than that, there was a mighty "arrière pensée" behind the scenes. The drama was a desperate game, and the end is not yet. It was the game of "all the Cæsars." It was the "Old World" defying the Institutions of the New. And if they had vanquished what they defied, the results in their vast proportions would have outstripped all the schemes that Popes, Emperors, or conquerors of past ages ever dreamed of. They would have changed the destiny of the new world, and an overwhelming reflex tidal wave of despotism would have rolled back over the nations of the old world.

Its end forever.

But the drama is played. The game is a failure. The stage and the spectators remain. The actors are changed, and the great question now is, WHAT SHALL BE THE FUTURE OF MEXICO? The sequel of this volume, it is hoped, may throw some light upon

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the subject, and indicate, at least, the line of policy, which the interests of Mexico and of the United States—of the American continents, and the cause of liberty, civil and religious, throughout the world, demand.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO.

Achievements of the Spanish Monarchy. 1200–1800.

During a period of a little more than three hundred and fifty years, the civilization and Christianity of Spain "were illustrated to the nations of the old world," by three great acts in the drama of human history that will never be forgotten: the attempted extermination of the Moors; the persecution and expulsion of the Jews; and the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.

During the same period, the strange spirit of the rulers and institutions of Spain has been exemplified by equally significant acts in the new world: the conquest of her colonies; the overthrow of the empires of the Montezumas and the Incas; the extermination of some fifty millions of the aboriginal inhabitants; and the establishment and administration of her colonial governments.

Spain, for the last six centuries of the Christian era, has borne upon her banner and carried round the world, the sacred "Christ-bearing" symbol of peace on earth and good will to men. How far she has manifested the spirit of the symbol, the facts of history record, and the verdict of mankind will tell.

Alfonso X. The Wise. 1256.

In the 13th century, about two hundred years prior to the discovery of America, Alfonso X. was King of Spain. He was one of the most learned

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men of his age. On account of his own attainments in literature, science and art, his writings in poetry and prose, in history, and jurisprudence, and his encouragement of men of learning, he was surnamed "The Wise."

His Code of Laws.

His father, Ferdinand III., in order to correct the evils of the local *fueros*, or privileges which were claimed by various towns and provinces, established a general code of laws for the whole kingdom. His son, Alfonso, carrying out this design, prepared successively two smaller compilations, entitled the "Mirror of all Rights," and the "Royal Charter," which were subsequently codified and promulgated in the celebrated body of laws, known as the "Seven Parts," from the number of portions into which it was divided. The materials for the work were taken from the Justinian Code, and the ancient laws and local institutions of the kingdom. The holders of *fueros* long and obstinately resisted the curtailment of their ancient privileges. But the code was finally established, and became the basis of Spanish Common Law. It is a treatise on legislation, religion and morals. It explains the mutual duties of a king and his people; the provisions of the laws and the reasons for their establishment. By the admission of Florida and Louisiana into the United States, this code has had its influence upon the legal system of our country.

Spanish translation of the Bible. 1270.

But the great act of his life and the crowning glory of his reign, was the translation of the Bible into the Spanish language, which he caused to be made, and which introduced a new era in the history of the language and of the country.

For more than six centuries Spain has had the Bible. She has repudiated its principles, extinguished its light among her own people, and played such a rôle among the

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nations, as irresistibly to remind one again of the old Divine decree, that "the nation and kingdom that will not serve" Jehovah "shall perish,—yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted."

Pope Alexander VI. 1492.

In 1492, Pope Alexander VI. ascended the Papal throne. In 1494, he settled the conflicting claims of the kings of Spain, and of Portugal, in respect to the rights of discovery of the Indies, East and West, by a Pontifical decree.

The title-deed to North and South America.

He divided the undiscovered regions of the earth, by an imaginary line of longitude, running through the Atlantic Ocean, from pole to pole, 370 miles west of the Azores. He gave to the Portuguese, unlimited sway over all the countries they might discover to the East of this line; and pledged himself to confirm to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the right to every isle, continent and sea, where they should plant their flag in the Western Hemisphere. Hence, in every picture or engraving of the landing of Columbus, the first act in the scene is the planting of the flag of the Spanish crown.

Under such a charter as this, Ferdinand and Isabella, and their successors, held all their vast possessions in America as their own peculiar personal property, under their own absolute, irresponsible control, in all matters whatsoever, temporal and spiritual.

Pope Alexander granted to Ferdinand personally all the titles belonging to the church. Julius II., his successor, confirmed these grants, and added all the benefices, dignities and offices, claimed by the "Holy See," as her share of the spoils of the conquered.

The Pope to the King.

The "King of Spain," therefore, was the supreme head of church and state in the colonies; holding by deed direct, from Peter's successor, the Roman

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Vicegerent, the fee simple of all the territory, together with the temporal dominion of one half of all the undiscovered regions of the globe, and as his personal possession all the "right, title and interest" His Holiness could convey, in the souls, bodies and estate of any discovered nations. The continent, isles and people, body and soul, labor, fortune, conscience and life, were his.

The Spirit of Discovery and Exploration.

The expeditions which Spain sent from her shores to plant the standard of her empire in the New World, were imbued with feelings of religious fanaticism, to an intensity it is now hard to conceive. Stimulated, besides, with the thirst for gold, they spread devastation wherever they marched, and inflicted on the simple natives tortures and sufferings, differing little, except in duration, from the pains which the priests, who always accompanied the expeditions, announced as awaiting the wretched victims in another world. These priests also insisted upon the blindest submission in spiritual matters, which, it was not unreasonably expected, would secure civil dependence.

The Conquest a Crusade.

Michel Chevalier, in describing the religious element in the expedition of Cortez, for the conquest of the New World, called it a "Crusade,"—a holy war against the infidels. To make them confess the faith, was an incomparable merit. In such a cause, it was a little matter that they gave unbridled license to their passions,—that they were licentious, covetous, and bathed themselves in blood. "Every sin would be atoned by so good a work."

The spirit of the old Spanish Crusades against the Moors, was a living fire in the camp of Cortez. The authority of the Church, and the commands of the Emperor, imposed it as a paramount duty to convert the infidels.

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Every soldier considered himself an apostle;—bound to convert, as well as to conquer the heathen. They were to invade and possess their country, to occupy their cities, to take away their treasures, to ravish their daughters, to exterminate the resisting, and by all means, to convert and baptize the rest.

Military Christianization.

The military and the missionary work were both inspired by an enlightened zeal for the lands and the gold of the Mexicans, and the saving grace of a holier zeal, for the souls of those they did not destroy.

In pursuance of such a mission, these propagandists of the Christian faith, the moment a city was taken, rushed for the treasures of their idol temples, overthrew the altars and images of paganism, appropriated to themselves the consecrated ornaments and vessels of barbaric gold, erected an image of the Virgin in the place of a heathen idol, and commanded the astonished natives to fall down and worship their God, who was mightier than the gods of Tenochtitlan. The poor, defenceless natives were compelled to bow down and worship the image of the Virgin, and accept the rites of the Church.

The Pagan and the Christian Idol.

Missionaries sent over by the king did not stay to acquire the language of the natives, and to explain to them the truths and doctrines of Christianity, but proceeded at once to administer baptism and the sacraments, punishing apostates with the tortures prescribed by the Inquisition. Such was their zeal, that a single priest would baptize his thousands between the rising and the setting sun.

Baptismal Conversions.

Peter, of Ghent, a Flemish monk, writing from Mexico, 1529, said, that he and "another Missionary had converted *Two Hundred Thousand* Mexicans, their ordinary day's work being from *ten to twenty*

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thousand souls." A few years after the conquest, the monks reported the number of converts as amounting to FOUR MILLIONS.

But such conversions are seldom permanent; and it was soon discovered that multitudes had consented to accept the rites of the Church on compulsion, or in order to conciliate their conquerors, but with reservations in favor of their own, ancient gods.

Paganism and Christianity.

"The indifference of the Mexicans," says Dr. Young, "in relation to the mysteries of the new religion, was so great, that the priests found it absolutely necessary to permit them to retain a portion of their original superstition, and to connive at the amalgamation of holy rites with pagan ceremonies, confounding the exalted doctrines of Christianity with the absurd and gloomy fancies pertaining to the Aztec mythology."*

Opinion of Humboldt.

Humboldt says, "The introduction of the Romish religion had no other effect upon the Mexicans than to substitute new ceremonies and symbols for the rites of a sanguinary worship. Dogma has not succeeded dogma, but only ceremony to ceremony. I have seen them, masked and adorned with tinkling bells, perform savage dances around the altar, while a monk of St. Francis elevated the Host."

The Mission of the Conquerors.

All the great enterprises of conquest and crusade in the age of Cortez, were imbued with a kind of religious enthusiasm. Any act of aggression, inhumanity or barbarism, was sanctioned, if done in the name of religion. Under the banner of "the Cross," the zeal of the vilest men could be roused to almost any work of diabolical crime. The cry, "in hoc signo vinces,"

* Compare with the statement respecting the policy of the early Church, A. D. p.—64.

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would rally an army of followers to overrun and devastate the fairest provinces, to capture, sack, and burn defenceless cities, to obliterate a nationality by the sword, the torture and the stake. The age of conquest and discovery was one of singular mixture of pretended love and zeal for God, and actual hatred and murder of men. Every description of wrong and outrage, under the garb of religion, was tolerated. Adultery, incest, murder, perjury, and unmitigated despotism in kings, popes, and queens, were winked at, if they were only "Defensores Fidei." The whole family of the priesthood, Pope, Cardinal, Bishop, and Priest, under the most solemn vows of celibacy, were quite exempt from discipline or censure, however numerous were their sons and daughters. It was no mere fling of the wits that the priests were all "Fathers," and the Pope, "The *Holy* Father."

Pope Alexander VI.

Pope Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia, of Valencia, Spain, had during his cardinalship, four illegitimate children, by his mistress Vanozia. His pontificate has been said to be the blackest page in the history of modern Rome. His public policy and his private life were equally strangers to morality and religion. Historians agree that "no name in history is stigmatized with greater infamy—his court a school of licentiousness and falsehood, where crime was reduced to a system, and oaths and compacts afforded no obligation or security."

Testimony of historians.

"The ecclesiastical records of fifteen centuries," says Dr. Waddington, "contain no name so loathsome, no crimes so foul as his. While the voice of every impartial writer is loud in his execration, he is, in one respect, singularly consigned to infamy, since not one of the zealous annalists of the Roman church has breathed a whisper in his praise."

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On one occasion, this prodigy of vice gave a splendid entertainment, within the walls of the Vatican, to no less than fifty public prostitutes, at which entertainment, deeds of darkness were done over which decency must throw a veil. And yet this monster of vice was, according to papal claims, the legitimate successor of the Apostles, and the "Vicar of God," upon earth, and addressed by the title, "His Holiness!"

It is less than three centuries since Alexander VI. conveyed to their Catholic majesties of Spain and Portugal our whole continent from the pole to the cape, not excepting the United States and Mexico. And Catholic powers, it would seem, to this day claim their right of possession under the grant.

The character and manners of the Kings, Popes, and Priests of Europe, were transferred to Mexico. There were, undoubtedly, good men in the pale of the church;—as godly and noble souls as ever contended for truth and righteousness. But the whole spirit and life of the age were characterized by deeds of darkness, shame and death. A cry arose from all Europe for "Reform," everywhere, in the Vatican at Rome, in the Palaces of Kings, in monasteries and convents, and among the professedly celibate ecclesiastics of every order and name. The "Roman Church" is as much indebted to the Great Reformation of the 16th century, for the reform in the lives and manners of its clergy, as Protestantism is, for its purer faith. But the Reform, either in faith or manners, never crossed from Spain to Mexico.

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PART II.

MEXICO UNDER THE DOMINION OF SPAIN. 1520–1808.

CHAPTER I.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VICEROYS.

Colonial policy.

As soon as the Spaniards had plundered the wealth of the empire of the Aztecs, they turned their attention to the government of the colonies they planted. The King granted almost regal and absolute power to the Governors and Viceroys entrusted with the establishment of the first governments. This power was so abused that he was soon obliged to curtail these privileges.

Repartimientos.

As early as 1495, the germs of the colonial system of oppression and slavery had fairly taken root. The first seeds were the Letters Patent from the "crown," authorizing the officers of the colony to partition the *lands* of the Indians among their conquerors,—called *repartimientos.* The second plant, was the inauguration of the system of *tribute.* Every Indian, old and young, from the highest cacique down to children of fourteen years of age, was compelled to pay tribute. Children over fourteen, near any of the mines, were obliged to pay, every three months, a little bell full of gold; all others, a certain amount of cotton. Next came the requisition of *service* from the Indians, ex-

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acting their *labor* for the tillage of their lands. Then followed a regular system, authorizing the Spaniards to take Indians from any place to any other place, to work on compulsory, unrequited labor, without any restriction.

In 1503, Ferdinand and Isabella authorized one of the Governors of the colonies "to compel the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards—to work for them on such wages as he should think fit; to work, also, under the guidance of their caciques (a kind of compulsory overseership), and that they should go and hear mass, and be instructed in the faith; and, finally, *that they should do all these things 'as free persons, for so they are!'*"

The first fruits of these beginnings was the adoption, by this same Governor, of the system called by the mild name of "*encomienda.*" He distributed the Indians, the *men themselves*, as a gift to the Spaniards, for considerations unknown, to be veritable slaves. The formula ran, "To you, Don Juan * * *, is given an *encomienda* of fifty, or one hundred Indians, with such a cacique, *and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic faith.*"

There only remained the perpetuation of this title. At first it was only a life estate; next, it was extended through the son's life; then for two lives; and then unending, irrevocable slavery of parents and their offspring.

Las Casas said the poor Indians had *four* masters: "the crown," their own "caciques," the "*encomiendero,*" and his "overseer," "who weighed upon them more than a hundred towers."

Last of all was the system of the "Mita." By this, *four out of every hundred* of the Indians were taken and compelled to labor, a certain portion of every week, or month, or year, in the mines for the benefit of their Spanish masters. The amount of cruelty and suffering, as

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well as of wealth, for "viceroys" and the "crown," as the fruit of this system, is almost incredible.

To such an extent was the oppression of the Indians carried, that the Pope finally issued a decree declaring that the Indians were "really and truly men, and capable of receiving the Christian faith."

In 1511, Ferdinand established a special board for the management and control of all affairs pertaining to the conquered provinces in the New World, but it was not fully organized until the reign of Charles V. in 1524.

The Council of the Indies.

The "COUNCIL OF THE INDIES" was invested with supreme jurisdiction over all the possessions of the Spanish crown in the West. The "COUNCIL" consisted of a President who was the King, four Secretaries, and twenty-two Counsellors, generally chosen from among those who had been viceroys, or high officers abroad. The Council was empowered, in compliance with the nomination of the Crown, to appoint all the colonial officers of every degree, and to make all laws and regulations for the government of the colonies.

Power and policy of the Council.

This was a grand political, legislative, and financial machine. The power of the "COUNCIL" was absolute in all matters civil, religious, military, legislative, judicial, and executive, subject only to the nominal approval of the Crown. Its decisions, however, were invariably approved, right or wrong. The whole scheme and policy of law and administration were devised, not to carry out the principles of national and human rights, but to derive the utmost profit to the Spaniards from the lands, the mines, and the labors of the Indians. The viceroys exercised unlimited power over the lives, property and liberty of the people. They were generally selected from families of high rank and great influence, and wielded

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the delegated and arbitrary authority with a pretension and pomp scarcely equalled by their sovereign. They had their palaces, retinue, and guards of honor, and sought by the ostentatious display of mimic royalty in the provinces, to awe and intimidate the subjugated natives. The will of a Viceroy was Mexican law. It was absolute, individual control over all things temporal and spiritual.

Administration of justice.

The administration of justice was intrusted to two "COURTS of ROYAL AUDIENCE," one at the Capital, and the other for the Northern Provinces. The judges and officers of these Courts were appointed by "the COUNCIL of the INDIES," or, with their sanction, by the Viceroy. They were required to be native-born Spaniards, and were forbidden by law, on the genuine principle of the code of the Jesuits, to hold lands, to marry in the colonies, or to form any attachments in the land they were sent to govern. The justice they administered was such as conquerors give to captives, and masters give to slaves. Throughout the colonies, every officer, military, revenue, or municipal, was a European. Native Mexicans were prohibited from holding any office of trust, profit, or honor. All the subordinate offices were sold at Madrid, and were a source of large revenue to the Crown.

Social restrictions.

All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws. Passengers and crews of ships were placed under the surveillance of a military guard. They were not allowed to carry arms, and became utterly incapable of self-defence. The very laws even by which they were governed, were unknown to any but the Europeans who presided in the Courts, and who strained and perverted them with little regard to the people for whom they had no sympathy, and with supreme regard to

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the exactions for themselves of a bountiful revenue of gold and silver.

The very worst features of the feudal system of Europe were transplanted here, in their most despotic and revolting forms. They were intensified and aggravated by the vast disparity between the conditions and relations of the Spanish magistrate, and a helpless, defenceless Indian.

The system of "Fueros."

The whole administration of justice was utterly corrupt, venal, and oppressive. There was no equality before these tribunals. The system of *fueros*, or privileges, made endless discriminations in favor of the Spaniard and against the native. There were privileges of corporations, of the professions, of the clergy, regular and secular, monks, canons, inquisitions, colleges, universities; privileges of the military, of the marine, of those in the revenue service, and of great variety, all working to screen and benefit the European, and oppress the Indian. It was an inextricable labyrinth of corruption, bribery, intrigue, delay, denial of justice, and outrage.

General Colonial administration.

Under such a system for the enactment of laws, and for their administration, justice had no place or name in Mexico. Of a long succession of *one hundred and seventy Viceroys* who governed the colonies of Spain, *four only* were Americans; and of *six hundred and ten Captains-General* and Governors, *all but fourteen* were natives of old Spain. The civil, criminal, and fiscal administration, indeed the whole political system, was a gigantic monopoly in the hands of foreigners. The natives had no voice, direct or indirect, in legislation, or any function or exercise of government. Law and execution came from Spain. Freedom was crushed with relentless severity. Any attempt to win it was repressed with unheard-

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of cruelties. Taxes, duties, tithes, were ubiquitous burdens. Courts of law were mere farces. Prisoners and prisons were only the sport of unscrupulous and irresponsible power.

Commercial Restrictions.

The "Council of the Indies" interdicted all commercial intercourse between the colonies and the rest of the world, and with each other. All imports and exports were restricted to Spanish vessels. All supplies to come from Spain, and the colonies forbidden to raise or produce any article the mother country could supply. They were forbidden to trade with foreigners or with neighboring states, under any pretext whatever. The penalty was death. One of the grievances of Hidalgo, the first to raise the banner of independence in Mexico, was the destruction of his vineyard and his silkworms by command of the government, under the most unjust and oppressive law, that the natives must produce nothing that could be brought from Spain.

The revenue system.

The internal administration of this system was as foul as its conception was infamous. An illustration of the systematic plunder of the natives is found in the grand scheme of extortionate taxation. There was

THE ROYAL REVENUE.

The King had,

I. One fifth of all the gold and silver, and his monopolies, tobacco, salt, and gunpowder.

II. The colonial offices, civil and ecclesiastical, were openly sold on his account.

III. His "Stamp act" and "Stamped" paper were as odious and productive as those of George III.

IV. Every Indian was required to pay a poll-tax.

V. To crown the infamy, he exacted an extensive rev-

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enue from the religious rites and superstitions of the people. The necessaries and luxuries of life, the sacraments and offices of religion, and the fears and hopes of immortality, were made to yield a royal income to the King of Spain.

"THE REVENUE 'BULLS.'"

As a specimen of these, there was

1. "*Bulls de cruzada.*" The possessor of this Bull was absolved from all crimes, except heresy, and could not be suspected even of this deadly sin. He was exempt from many of the rigorous fasts of the Church. Two Bulls at the same price, had double the virtue of one.

2. "*Bulls de defuntos*"—the Bull for the dead—was a passport for a sinner's soul from purgatory. The fears and sympathies of the poor and ignorant classes were wrought upon to induce them to buy this ticket of release for themselves, or their friends, from the pains of purgatory.

3. "Bulls for eating milk and eggs during Lent."

4. "Bulls of composition." This "released persons who had stolen goods from the obligation to restore them to the owner, provided the thief had not been moved to commit his crime in consequence of the belief that he might escape from its sin by consequently purchasing the immaculate 'Bull.'" It had power "to correct the moral offence of false weights and measures, tricks and frauds in trade, the obliquities of principle and conduct, by which swindlers rob honest people of their property; and, finally, whilst it converted stolen articles into the lawful property of the thief, it also assured to purchasers the absolute ownership of whatever they obtained by modes that ought to have brought them to the gallows. The price of these 'Bulls' depended on the amount of goods stolen, but only

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fifty of them could be taken by the same person in a year."

Such are some of the features of the enlightened government of the Christian King and "Church" of Spain.

But this is not all. There were

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVENUES.

The "HOLY CHURCH" held all its prerogatives and appointments directly from the King. Its ultimate, actual influence and power emanated from the sovereign. The erection of cathedrals, parish churches, monasteries, hospitals, native chapels, or other religious edifices, without the express license of the monarch, was strictly prohibited.

All ecclesiastical revenues went to him. The power and resources of patronage were incalculable. The religious jurisdiction of church interests and tribunals extended to monasteries, priests, donations, legacies for sacred purposes, tithes, marriages, and all *spiritual* concerns.

CLERICAL FUEROS.

The *fueros* of the clergy, and their varied privileges and prerogatives, made Mexico the very *el-dorado* of ecclesiastics. As early as 1501, the system of tithes was established and regulated by law.

1. Every article of primary necessity was subject to tithes.

2. All the artificial and ornamental productions were also titheable.

3. Every object of luxury and comfort was subject to the same tax.

Clerical financiers.

The clergy thus became the royal collecting agents of this *spiritual* revenue. The aggrandizement of the clerical body, and the accumulation of

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their wealth was almost incredible. Churches and convents, estates and treasure, diamonds, gold, and silver, swelled the accumulations to an aggregate of not less than one hundred millions of dollars. The monasteries of the Dominicans and Carmelites acquired immense riches in real estate, both in town and country. The religious establishments of the monks and nuns in the city of Mexico, were said to be the owners of *three-fourths* of the private houses in the capital, and proportionably, of property in the different states of the Republic.

THE ALCABALA.

There was an impost called the "*alcabala*," upon all purchases and sales. "Every species of merchandise, whenever it passed from one owner to another, was subject to a new tax. Merchants, shop-keepers, and small dealers were obliged to report the amount of their purchases and sales, under oath." The largest transactions and the smallest, from the transfer of an estate to the purchases from the green-grocer, were subject to this tribute.

In addition to the *alcabala*, duties were exacted for the privilege of transit through the country, by which, it has been said, that European articles paid a tax or a duty thirty times before they reached the consumer.

Spirit of the Colonial Government.

Is it to be wondered at, that six or eight millions of Mexicans, crushed under such a despotism as this by half a million of foreigners, should at length grow weary of the yoke? No voice in making their laws, no part in executing them, no representation of any kind, the most exorbitant and extortionate taxation, the most unreasonable restrictions upon social intercourse, a tyrannical interdiction of trade, the utter suppression of important domestic productions and manufactures, the compulsory

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purchase of Spanish goods, tithes of everything, with the most unjust exemption of the whole governing class,—the Church party and a Spanish aristocracy—from burdens imposed upon the people, and from all accountability to the laws enacted for their victims, together with the long list of Fueros of the clerical, military, and privileged classes, make a fair counterpart to the catalogue of wrongs of Americans recited in our own Declaration of Independence!

CHAPTER II.

THE POLITICAL RELATIONS OF SPAIN AND MEXICO.

French Intervention in Spain.

In 1808, Napoleon I. announced "that the House of Bourbon had ceased to reign in Spain," placed his brother Joseph on the throne, and assembled a junta of 150 delegates, to form a new constitution, which was adopted and sworn to by the King and the Delegates July 6th.

Alliance of England and Spain.

England took sides with the "old regime," recognized Ferdinand VII. as King, and supported the "Spanish people" in resisting the Napoleonic dynasty. A central junta at Seville guided the Spanish forces. The English armies were under the command of Sir John Moore and Wellington. The French forces were under the inspiration of Napoleon and Marshal Soult. The Peninsular War of the Spanish nation, under the "Old Bourbon Dynasty," with England as an ally, against the designs of France, raged with varying fortunes to the combatants until 1812.

The Constitution of 1812.

The Spanish Cortes, in the progress of this contest, in which the elements of the old political and ecclesiastical despotism, French intervention,

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and liberal, republican principles were strangely blended, had adopted a new constitution, embodying fundamental reforms, known as the Constitution of 1812.

The reactionary movement.

Ferdinand, on his restoration to the throne by Napoleon, pursuant to the treaty of 1813, annulled all the proceedings of the Cortes; abrogated the Constitution; re-established the old despotism, with all its abuses; revived the Inquisition, and persecuted with relentless rigor all who had sought to secure constitutional freedom. All the members of the Cortes who had participated in framing the Constitution, or who had supported it, were arrested, tried by court martial, and sentenced. Not a few were executed. Hundreds of the most illustrious were imprisoned in dungeons at home, or in Africa. The most fortunate were exiled.

Tyranny of the king.

Six long years Spain was the scene of a bloody tragedy; until the perfidious cruelty of the revengeful tyrant roused such universal reprobation, that the army gave the signal of insurrrection.

Revolt of the army.

In January 1820, the whole national forces revolted against the despotism, proclaimed anew the Constitution of 1812, compelled Ferdinand on the 9th of March to convoke the Cortes, and swear himself to support the Constitution he had seven years before annulled. A new ministry was formed, the press declared free, the Inquisition abolished, and within a few weeks a new order of things was acknowledged throughout Spain.*

Duplicity of the king.

On the 9th of July, at the re-opening of the Cortes, Ferdinand renewed his oath to the Con-

* Honors, gratuities, and pensions were showered upon the generals and officers of the army, who had so successfully initiated and achieved the revolution in favor of liberal principles and Constitutional freedom.

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stitution, and ostensibly acted in harmony with the Patriots.

But it was soon discovered, that he was secretly intriguing with the enemies of the administration, and encouraging their reactionary plots. The Constitutionalists, or liberals, were struggling to establish the government on the broad principles of human rights. The ultra-Royalists were plotting for monarchical and absolute power.

The king, the royalists, and "the church party."

The duplicity and perfidy of the King, the violation of his oath, and the treachery of his adherents, resulted in conflicts between the opposite parties, and finally in bloody riots and civil war, in the Capital and throughout the country. The liberal party formed a large majority of the nation. The Royalists, unable to compete with the overwhelming numbers in favor of Constitutional government on liberal principles, resorted to the old support of despotism—the ecclesiastical power of "The Church."

The church militant.

They organized a junta styled "the Apostolic," and raised bands of insurgents, under the name and banner of "The Army of the Faith." They demanded the restoration of the absolute power of the King, of the Convents, and of feudal institutions. A noted guerilla leader, Merino, a "Spanish Priest," at the head of bands of monks and friars, inaugurated a regular ferocious guerilla war,—a perfect type of the policy adopted by the "Church party" in Mexico ever since.

The defeat of despotism.

The reactionary movement was a failure. The Royalists and the "CHURCH PARTY" were completely defeated. "The Army of the Faith" was totally destroyed. Its officers and soldiers, with the ultra-royalist leaders, fled to France. It was a revolution in the interest of the liberal party.

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Intervention of the holy alliance.

But here, the "HOLY ALLIANCE" intervened. The Congress of Verona ordered an army to march into Spain, and restore Ferdinand to his throne. The Constitutionalists were unable to withstand the combined forces of the allied powers. The Cortes were constrained to declare King Ferdinand re-established. On the 30th of September, 1823, the restored monarch issued a proclamation of general amnesty, and guaranteed the engagements entered into by the Constitutional Government.

Measures of the restored king.

The next day he revoked the proclamation, and all his acts since March 7, 1820. On the 13th of November, 1823, he made his royal entrance into the city of Madrid, with all the pomp and circumstance of a resumption of the crown, and with the exulting applause of the Royalists and the "Church Party"

Vengeance.

The work of vengeance inaugurated in 1813, was renewed with fearful intensity. Inquisitorial terrors reigned again, for years, throughout Spain. The noblest victims fell under the sword of the executioner. Ferdinand had no mercy for Constitutionalists. Liberals and Republicans had none for "The Church."

Effect of the revolution in the colonies.

The Revolution in 1808, the abdication of Charles IV. in favor of his son, FERDINAND VII., and the imposition of Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain by Napoleon I., did not subvert the loyalty of the people of Mexico. The Colonists, amid all the excitement of the times, cherished the old traditionary sentiments of allegiance to their legitimate sovereign. Conflicting claims of allegiance, perpetual conflicts of jurisdiction, and contradictory orders from Spain, added perplexity to the agitation in Mexico. Ferdinand VII., Joseph, and the Council of the Indies, had each their partisans,

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and were each struggling to retain or secure the ascendency.

Proposed compromise.

An attempt was made to compromise these difficulties by a kind of provisional colonial government in the hands of a junta, composed of the Viceroy, the Archbishop of Mexico, officers of the army, the nobility, the members of the municipal government, and the principal citizens of the capital.

Antipathy of Races.

The plan proposed was in favor of the rights of Mexicans, by placing the *Creoles of America* on a footing of equality with *the natives of Spain.* But the old hereditary hatred of the foreign, for the native population, entirely defeated the plan.

Conquest, subjugation, and outrage.

The conquest of Mexico was begun in the name of philanthropy and religion. The bloody and merciless work of subjugation was continued by king, court, nobles, and conquerors, as a grand filibustering scheme of robbery and plunder. The natives were held as the merest vassals, serfs, slaves, having no rights that Spaniards were bound to respect. The will of the monarch, and the sword and chains of his minions, made promiscuous havoc alike of the rights, the property and the lives of the helpless Indians. An inextinguishable hatred was the result.

Colonial Government.

During these convulsions and changes of sovereigns in Spain, the colonies were compelled to frame some kind of temporary government for themselves. Little instructed in the science of government, and with no knowledge or experience of Republican Institutions, they were thrown upon their own resources. They sought to construct some system to secure those rights the consciousness of which is wrought in the very constitution of the human soul. They were not prepared to renounce allegiance to their legitimate king. The feeling of loyalty

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and sympathy for their sovereign which education almost makes an instinct, and habit makes a law, awakened in his faithful colonial subjects a kind of enthusiasm for the exiled Ferdinand, and a mortal hate for the conqueror of Spain and the successor he had imposed upon the throne, and whom they regarded as the merest parvenu and usurper.

Loyalty.

It is said there was such a loyal unanimity among all classes, that in a few months seven millions of dollars were contributed to aid the loyalists in Spain, who were fighting for their king, nationality and religion.

Rise of Mexican ideas of Independence.

But the course of events hurried the Mexicans to a consideration of their own rights. The king who occupied the throne was not a Spaniard, but a Frenchman. The tie between the ancient crown and the colony was sundered. The memory of ages of renown, and of the ancestral glory of old Spain, fired the hearts of the native Spaniards. The memory of ages of oppression fired the souls of the descendants of the Aztecs. Step by step the idea of resistance to their own, and their ancestors' oppressors gained progress and strength.

Aspirations after Freedom.

At length, in 1810, a secret plot was formed to overthrow the Spanish ascendency in the colony, and to place the prerogatives and power of their absent king in the hands of native Mexicans. The scheme, however, was discovered and defeated.

The first cry for Liberty.

Here begins the story of Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla—a name that will be honored as long as Mexico has a name among the nations of the earth. He was a native Indian, curate of the village of Dolores, in the province of Guanajuato,—the patriot priest who first raised the standard of "native rights," and of "the independence of Mexico."

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The uprising of the Aztecs.

At the cry of this country curé, in 1810, the native Indians flew to arms, enrolled themselves as soldiers, and took their first, hard, self-taught lessons in military life. Under all the disabilities so long imposed upon their race, it was a stern and bitter discipline. But stirred and sustained by the love of liberty and right, they manifested a courage and intrepidity, an indomitable spirit, worthy of any of the lovers and martyrs of liberty, of any age or land.

The Aztec Volunteers.

It is true, they were as irregular, as undrilled, and as destitute of accoutrements, ammunition and arms, as the extemporized troops that rushed to Lexington and Bunker Hill. But they were as true and self-sacrificing. They went to sow their fields and save their harvests, and returned to the drill and the discipline of the camp. Again they scattered to protect and provide for their families, and again returned under the flag. In respect to all the external appointments that give prestige and power to military organization, they were utterly destitute. There was no military chest, no quarter-master's department, no commissary stores, nor ordnance supplies. In respect to high-souled, liberty-loving patriotism, according to the light they had, where have been their superiors? They were simple, unsophisticated, undisciplined volunteers. They equipped themselves, they supported themselves. The very women preceded the columns on the march, fulfilling the triple functions of purveyors, cooks and nurses.

Such is the connection between the political elements and the revolutionary movements in Spain and in Mexico. The sequel will show them pervading all the great acts, in the successive changes, revolutions and constitutions, down through 1821, 1859, to the present day.

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CHAPTER III.

IDENTITY OF THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF AMERICAN AND MEXICAN REPUBLICANS.

The origin of the great American ideas.

THE fundamental principles involved in the struggles of the Mexicans for the independence and liberties of their country, are the identical principles for which the fathers of our Republic contended;—principles proclaimed to the world in our Declaration of the "inalienable rights of man," in 1776; re-affirmed at Paris by the Republicans of France in 1789; repeated by the Patriots of Spain at Madrid, in 1810; re-echoed back to Europe by the proclamation of the Republicans of Mexico in 1821.

The great American ideas of the rights of man, and of human government, have thus described in their circuit, as it respects the dominant powers and nations of both hemispheres, a great circle of the political world.

The germs from English soil.

They are substantially the same as those that marked the struggles which preceded and followed the British Constitution; convulsed, for generations, the whole fabric of society in wars and revolutions for the overthrow of monarchical and feudal assumptions, and the establishment of the rights of "the people."

The outgrowths American.

They are the same principles which the present generation of the United States have received from our fathers, at the expense of priceless sacrifices of treasure, blood, and life. They are the corner-stone and the top-stone of the temple of American liberties,—the glory of our heritage in that system for the organization of society, and the establishment of civil, social, and religious institutions, which has developed in less than a cen-

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tury a *commonwealth* of six and thirty states, and of six and thirty millions of people, distinguished for a degree of intelligence, general education, wealth, enterprise, prosperity, morality, religion and happiness, such as no other nation has ever attained.

The family of Kings and the family of Man.

They are the same principles that marked the struggling way of human rights and liberties in continental Europe, for more than FIVE HUNDRED YEARS. The old contest between the "FAMILY OF KINGS" and the "family of man" is transferred to Mexico. Papal, hierarchical, and ecclesiastical domination, losing its hold upon the thrones, the powers, and the nations of Europe, made a dying struggle to lay in Mexico the foundations of another Roman supremacy, and to repeat in the new world the rôle of the Papacy, of Jesuitism, and of the Inquisition in the old.

Despotism in Mexico.

The maligned Mexican civil war has been simply the uprising of an oppressed and persecuted "people," and their resistance to a despotism, monarchical and ecclesiastical, unparalleled in the history of human wrongs and atrocities.

The intolerable Yoke.

A civil war! It was the protest and the cry of an oppressed race, and a betrayed nation, struggling for life. It was the last despairing effort of a people, crushed, exhausted, enfeebled, depressed by three centuries of unutterable woes. Three of the mightiest powers of Christendom pounced down upon the feeble State, to extinguish its nationality and divide the spoils. In vain their victims asserted the "inalienable rights of man." In vain they invoked the laws of nations against perfidy and extortion. In vain they claimed the liberties and rights which every nation, every race, and every human being have received from their Creator.

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European example.

And neither England, France, nor Spain, nor old Rome itself, Pagan or Papal, can show a fairer record than the wronged and defenceless Mexicans present, of righteous claims, of intrepid patriotism, of self-sacrifice and suffering in the cause of their country, their government, or of humanity.

Sympathy misplaced.

England, France, and Spain have had each a memorable history. It would almost seem that their statesmen and journalists of the present day had never learned, or had forgotten it. Their origin, their wars, and revolutions, their struggles with King-craft and Priestcraft, with every form of usurpation and tyranny, have only antedated those of Mexico by a few centuries. And every element of opposition and calumny heaped upon Mexico, is found, "mutatis mutandis," in their own historians, applied to themselves.

THE CONQUEST AND EARLY HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Ancestors of Englishmen.

"Nothing," says Macauley, "in the early existence of Great Britain, indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain. Her inhabitants, when first they became known to the Tyrian mariners, were little superior to the natives of the Sandwich Islands. She was subjugated by the Roman arms. She was the last of the provinces of the Cæsars that was conquered, and the first that was flung away. No magnificent remains of Latian porches and aqueducts are to be found in Britain. * * In Britain, the conquered race became as barbarous as the conquerors." * * * "From communion" (with the ancient civilization)" Britain was cut off. Her shores were, to the polished race which dwelt by the Bosphorus, objects of a mysterious horror, such as that with which the Ionians,

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of the age of Homer, had regarded the straits of Scylla, and the city of the Laestrygonian cannibals." "There was one province of our Island, in which, as Procopius had been told, the ground was covered with serpents, and the air was such that no man could inhale it and live."

In one of Cicero's letters, alluding to the origin of the British colony, the old Roman said, "As for the inhabitants, they are ignorant, stupid, have no knowledge of music, and are unfit for the meanest situation in the household of our friend Atticus."

Ungenerous accusations.

Such are the statements. Whether true or false, it may be as much a question of truth as of taste, whether English statesmen, diplomats, authors, editors, military and naval officers, should indulge in their ceaseless and opprobrious flings at Mexico and the Mexicans. Time was when Britons were described as "painted savages." For four hundred years England was convulsed with a succession of conflicts and wars, with which nothing in the last forty years of the Mexican struggle can compare.

Civil wars of England.

There were wars for the "throne," for the "church," for the "state;" contests for Papal or Regal supremacy; contests between kings and queens, parliaments and commons; there were conflicts of races, and all the jealousies and feuds of chieftains and nobles; there were bloody battle-fields, private frays, and secret assassinations; the axe of the executioner, fire and faggot, did their work; there is no alleged barbarity or atrocity in the forty years' Mexican struggle for human rights, that has not its counterpart, in tenfold degree, during the four hundred years of the wars of England for civil and religious liberty.

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THE FIRST GREAT ENGLISH REVOLTTION.—1640.

The great Magna Charta.

At the commencement of the thirteenth century, the long contest between the Crown and the Barons was settled. The great "Magna Charta" of "English Liberties" was extorted from King John, notwithstanding the excommunication and anathema of the Pope. "From this," says Macauley, "commences the history of the English nation." "Here was the origin of our freedom, our prosperity, and our glory." "Then it was that the English people was formed, and the national character began to exhibit those peculiarities in politics, feelings, and manners, that it has ever since retained." "Then first appeared that Constitution, which has ever since, through all changes, preserved its identity; that 'Constitution,' of which *all the other free constitutions of the world* are copies." "Then it was that the House of Commons, the archetype of all the representative assemblies which now meet, either in the old or in the new world, held its first sittings;" "that Common Law rose to the dignity of a science," and became "the rival of imperial jurisprudence;" "that the most ancient colleges, at both the great national seats of learning, were founded." "Then appeared the first faint dawn of that noble literature, the most splendid and the most durable of the many glories of England."

Constitutional Monarchy.

Under this great instrument the English monarchy, for a period of four hundred years, made its way through all the collisions and conflicts between the King, lords, and commons, and all the antagonistic elements in church and state.

Popular rights and liberties.

The Constitution, supported by statute law, guarded, to an extent never known before,

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the rights and liberties of the people. According to law, without the consent of the representatives of the nation, no royal decree could be enforced, no tax imposed, no military establishment maintained, no arbitrary imprisonment inflicted, nor the legal rights of the humblest subject be violated.

Fruits of false Principles.

But gradual encroachments upon the rights and liberties of the people, and the persistent inculcation of false political and religious doctrines, paved the way for another revolution, and a new proclamation of the rights of man.

The "Divine Right" and Human Rights.

The Papacy and the "church party" taught that "hereditary monarchy alone, among all the institutions of the kingdom, was *divine* and *inviolable;* that the right of the House of Commons to a share in the legislative power was a right merely *human;* that the right of the King to the obedience of the people was the ancient ordinance of God; that the 'Great Charter' was a statute, that *might be repealed by those who made it;* but that the title of the Princes of the Royal blood to the throne, in the order of succession, was of *celestial origin*, and could never be invalidated."

Liberty and Law.

It was the necessity and the province of the new revolution to reaffirm the fundamental principles of liberty and law—the grounds, prerogatives, and limitations of royal authority, and the relative duties and obligations of rulers and people.

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THE SECOND GREAT HISTORICAL REVOLUTION, 1688.

Another Revolution in England.

From the beginning of the thirteenth to near the close of the seventeenth century, England was the theatre of as much intestine commotion and war, of as much intense hatred and hostility of races; of as much bitter and rancorous religious hate and persecution; of as much bloodthirsty and blood-shedding strife between races, tribes, clans, families, parties and individuals, kings, queens, nobles, parliaments, prelates and popes, as can be named in the history of any other four hundred years of any other nation in the course of time. If there be any exceptions, they are those of France and Spain.

The Old Conflict continued.

And yet, pervading the whole, there has been always conspicuous *one noble party of patriots and martyrs of liberty*, who have maintained, from age to age, the determined, persistent struggle for the "inalienable" civil and religious rights of man.

Indomitable English Patriots.

It is the distinguishing and immortal monument of England's glory, that the men of her civil wars and revolutions did not succumb to any papal, or regal, or feudal domination, or any foreign intervention whatever!

Freedom the universal birthright.

A strange apostasy it must be, if any of the sons of English liberties, who can look with indifference, not to say with hostility and contempt, upon the noble struggles of Mexican patriots to obtain, as their birthright too, that which is the crowning glory of the heritage of Englishmen!

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THE GREAT AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1776.

The American Declaration in 1776.

The Declaration of American Independence, July 4th, 1776, "in the name and by the authority of the good people of the Colonies," and the Constitution of the United States of America, 1787, under the formula, "WE the PEOPLE," inaugurated a new era in the history of human governments. These dates mark the beginning of the great transition in the seats of political power. They mark at once the grand epoch, era, and crisis in modern civilization.

Philadelphia has the honor of being the birthplace of those immortal documents, which herald, almost like the Song of Bethlehem, "good will" to the "BROTHERHOOD" of man.

The attitude of the Signers.

It is scarcely possible, at the present day, to appreciate the moral grandeur of the acts of the Fathers of the Republic. In the face of the mightiest power in Christendom, who held undisputed the Empire of the seas, and whose "morning drum-beat" followed the "circuit of the sun," the little handful of patriots proclaimed before the whole world the independence, the unity, the nationality, and the sovereignty of the nation.

"LIFE, FORTUNE, SACRED HONOR," was the fraternal pledge of united, calm, deliberate, sublime self-sacrifice for the political emancipation of their country, and of mankind.

The issue joined between despotism and freedom is briefly told in the following clauses:

The resolution of John Adams, of Massachusetts, in view of the aggressions of England: "*It is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under said crown should be totally suppressed.*"

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The resolution of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia: —"*That these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.*"

The Declaration: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*"

The Preamble: "*We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.*"

The proclamation of these truths and principles in the great original State Papers of the Republic was a very different thing from their repetition to-day.

The Principles and the Men.

The nation, in its infancy, in its weakness, in its inexperience, rose against the oppressions of a mighty empire of a thousand years. It had nothing to oppose to this vast overshadowing power but the majesty of truth and right.

The act of the "Signers of the Declaration" electrified the world. It was a sublime spectacle. The response of the nation, and the sequel of the "War of our Independence," were events in the annals of time that will survive, in the memory of man, all the pyramids and pillars of antiquity.

Moral sublimity.

It was not merely the little handful of colonists rejecting the yoke of the mother country, nor the unequal contest of a feeble, scarcely organized, and dependent people, resisting the power of the empire on which the "sun never sets,"—it was the *grounds of the*

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immortal "Declaration." It was not now the uprising of *a great people, but the resurrection of great principles*, that startled the world.

Monarchs and the rights of Men.

The King of England was the mightiest monarch, and the British empire the strongest military and naval power of the earth. The claims of the "crown" were such as all the monarchies of Europe held as "Divine." King, Court, and Nobles, in all their power and pride, the accumulations of a thousand years of royal ancestry and feudal privileges and traditions, could scarcely brook the paper defiance of colonial rebels. But the issue was joined,—the great initial issue between the rights of monarchs and the rights of man.

American Commissioners. "The French People."

In 1777–80, three American Commissioners, Franklin, Adams, and Lee, were sent to Paris, to negotiate for assistance, in money and arms, from the French Government. It seemed that the feeble forces of the States, with neither fleet nor military resources, nor supplies, must be crushed, unless they could secure the aid of some friendly foreign power. THE FRENCH PEOPLE manifested a strong sympathy with the American cause.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789.

The Republicans of France.

In 1789, the Republicans of France, in National Assembly, took up the principles of American Republicanism and adopted them as their own. One of the first steps of the Assembly was to issue a Declaration of the "rights of man."

The three great pillars of the French Constitution were here hewn out and erected,—"LIBERTY, FRATERNITY, EQUALITY.'

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In the Declaration of Rights they affirm:

1. The original equality of all mankind.
2. That the ends of social union are, liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.
3. That Sovereignty resides in the NATION, and that every power emanates from them.
4. That freedom consists in doing every thing that does not injure another.
5. That law is the expression of the general will.
6. That public burdens should be borne by the members of the State in proportion to their fortunes.
7. That the elective franchise should be extended to all.
8. That the exercise of natural rights has no other limit but the interference with the rights of others.

This Assembly, of 1,119 members, was composed of two hundred and ninety-one deputies of the clergy, two hundred and seventy of the nobles, five hundred and fifty-eight of the "tiers état," or middle class. Among the principal measures adopted were,

1. The King suspended from his functions.
2. The suppression of all titles of nobility.
3. The abolition of all feudal privileges.
4. Freedom of religion and of the press.
5. The property of the clergy declared to belong to the nation, and placed at the disposition of the treasury.
6. The political division of the kingdom.

THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN, 1812.

Republicans of Spain.

In 1812, the Republicans of Spain followed the example of those in France and in the United States. The Constitution of the Cortes, and the resolutions and decrees of the junta and clubs of Madrid, were in perfect harmony with the principles and declaration of the assembly at Paris. They declared,

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1. The abolition of all exclusive privileges.
2. The investiture in the NATION of all seignorial jurisdiction.
3. The establishment of entire freedom of the press.
4. The abolition of the Inquisition, and of the order of the Jesuits, and of all emblems and monuments which bore reference to them.
5. The prohibition of all monastic vows.
6. The Institution of National Guards, with their officers appointed by the election of the privates.
7. The preservation of all monastic property, to be disposed of for the benefit of the nation.

THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO, 1812.

Republicans of Mexico.

In 1812, the first Mexican "Congress" met in the city of Chilpancingo. They adopted the ideas and opinions of the Spanish Cortes, and of the French Assembly, and borrowing the very name of our Congress, and imitating our example, declared the "Independence of Mexico."

Among the first acts of the Congress, were the following declarations:

1. That the Mexican nation resumed its sovereignty, and exercised it by its representatives.
2. That Slavery was abolished.
3. That all privileges of birth and color were annulled.
4. That torture should no longer be inflicted.
5. That the rights of property should be protected.
6. That foreign commerce should be permitted, under moderate duties.
7. That the Laws should require patriotism and loyalty; limit alike excesses of opulence and poverty; tend to increase the wages of the poor, and diminish popular ignorance, vice, and crime.
8. That all gambling should be forbidden, and the manufacture even of playing cards prohibited.

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9. That all debts to Spaniards should be repudiated, on the principle that their property was forfeited and confiscated.
10. That any assistance to the Spaniards, by writing, word, or deed, should be accounted as high treason, as also a refusal to contribute towards the expenses of the war of independence.

At the same time the following additional declarations were issued, indicating just the progress that had been made in their ideas of religious, as well as of civil liberty.

11. That the Catholic religion ONLY should be recognized and allowed in the State.
12. That the press should be free for all purposes of science and political economy, but not for the discussion of religious matters!

The course of subsequent events educated the people irresistibly up to the broad and thorough principles of universal civil and religious liberty. It was not the stride of a day. The pathway from bondage to freedom has always been a long and toilsome journey of privation, trial, suffering and death through the wilderness. For the Jewish nation, it took forty years; for England, four hundred. France commenced the bloody agony fourscore years ago, and has not yet reached the promised land. Spain,—but we hardly know yet, whether she has crossed the sea. We have had our own fearful baptism, and Mexico, it is to be hoped, is just emerging from hers.

But the great conflict is raging. The whole earth is one vast Egypt. Pharaoh and his hosts are in every land. The cry of the victims of the oppressor has reached unto Heaven. A few pages in a chapter, will disclose the mighty issues which divide the world to-day. The principles promulgated by despotism, are often but the merest

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pretexts to disguise the aim. But the proclamations of freedom have no concealment nor hypocrisy.

Contrast the Republican declarations of human rights, with the manifestos of Kings, the Encyclicals and Allocutions of Popes, and mark their distinctive principles as diverse from each other, as light and darkness, as life and death. If the fundamental principles of the Institutions of the United States, are the principles which God has given to mankind, as HEAVEN'S own CHARTER of human rights,—then the Republicans of Mexico have been joining the holy cause, and the cry of humanity for civil and religious liberty! Mexico and the United States should stand or fall together, in the assertion before all the world —of the absolute, universal, necessary, indispensable, and eternal equality of the rights of man.

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PART III.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE MEXICAN QUESTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEWS.

Object of this Work.

THE object of this volume is, to present a simple, truthful, impartial statement of facts, and such views, and such only, as the facts themselves suggest and sustain. It will be a difficult task to present the ecclesiastical and religious aspects of the subject without prejudice or partiality. The statements will be confined to undeniable historic facts, and held up to view in the light of the XIX. century, and in their relations to the progress of modern civilization.

The real issue in Mexico.

There is no personal party or sinister object to be served. The rights of Mexicans, civil and religious are the same, and rest on the same grounds as the rights of all Americans, and of all mankind. The assertion and defence of these rights, on the part of Mexico, at such cost of treasure, blood, and life, have been really a sacrifice for humanity. The Mexican Republican Patriots have made common cause with the friends of freedom all over the world. The offering up of the life-blood of this young, struggling Republic, in the face of the mighty confederacy of its foes, has been a grand and heroic exhibition of self-sacrifice and suffering for the fundamental principles of modern civilization.

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Lest the plain narrative of incontestible facts, and the views and objects of this volume, should be misunderstood and misrepresented, it is here repeated; that there is no animosity or unfriendliness whatever towards any professedly Christian organization, as such. The only enmity, is enmity to error; the only opposition, opposition to wrong.

Limitations of responsibility.

No living men, or existing institutions among men, can be held responsible for the errors and abuses of past ages. None are accountable for wrongs they did nothing to introduce, have done nothing to perpetuate, and now withhold nothing in their power to remove. There is a distinction however, wide as the heavens, between the SYSTEM of eternal truths and principles of the Christian religion revealed from God, and the accretions of error during eighteen hundred years, and the attendant corruptions, perversions, and inventions of men.

The Christian Religion.

The Christian religion was founded on the eternal principles of truth and justice,—the everlasting foundations of love to God, and love to man. It places every human being on a footing of equality before his Maker and the Divine law, and before his fellow-men and human law. But the renunciation and abandonment of these principles, among all modern governments, have been the source and potent cause of the oppressions, revolutions, and civil wars of Christendom.

Errors and abuses.

It will be a matter of profound regret if anything in this volume shall be understood as reflecting upon any of the truths or institutions of the HOLY CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN RELIGION. It is necessary, however,

I. To exhibit the errors and abuses which in the progress of ages have crept into a system, Divine in its origin, but, corrupted, encumbered, and desecrated by the super-

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stitions of sinful and erring men, has lost its virgin purity, and is shorn of its life-giving power.

Christianity utterly perverted.

II. To show to what an abyss of degeneracy and degradation the system claiming to be, or to represent, the holy and spiritual Christian religion had reached, in Mexico; and that, whatever was the cause, wherever lay the responsibility, upon monarch, prelate, or priest, the whole ecclesiastical fabric had utterly failed of its mission. It neither instructed nor comforted nor guided the people in the "way of life." On the contrary, instead of being a blessing, it was an unmitigated curse. Reformation or destruction had become an absolute and inevitable necessity.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

It is a very remarkable and instructive fact, that in no country in the world does the *Roman Catholic* branch of the church occupy so commanding and respected a position as in the United States.

Nowhere else are its clergy, regular and secular, so well educated, so much esteemed for their culture, their refinement, their generally unexceptionable lives, and exemplary usefulness.

Character and influence of the Clergy.

In NO ROMAN CATHOLIC COUNTRY are its churches, institutions, and schools so well appointed, and so well conducted. Nowhere are the fundamental and essential truths of Christianity so well understood, and so intelligently embraced: namely, "SALVATION ALONE THROUGH THE BLOOD OF CHRIST; *repentance, faith, and a new and a Christian life.*" In vain you look to any other land for a ROMAN CATHOLIC population so well to do, so generally intelligent and enlightened, so desirous of improvement, so useful and so happy. Neither France, Spain, Austria, Italy, nor Rome itself, can in any respect

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begin to compare with the United States in these features of the American branch of the Roman Catholic church.

Source of its prosperity.

The source and support of all these incalculable blessings and advantages are found in the civil and political institutions of the United States. They are the legitimate fruits of the Constitution and the Government. The great American ideas, absolute separation of Church and State, independent church organizations, freedom of opinion, freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, of speech, of education, and of the press, are the foundations of all this prosperity.

We turn to the

"Church" in Mexico.

Roman Catholic Church in Mexico.

The testimony of all, natives and foreigners, old residents and travellers, intelligent individuals of the priesthood and of the laity, of monarchists, conservatives and radical republicans, of Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen and Americans, of Foreign Ministers and Consuls, of military and naval commanders, of mercantile and scientific men, engineers, and men in all the walks of professional and private life—all concur in representing the condition of the "Church" as deplorable beyond description.

It is not necessary to go largely into details in regard to the condition, character, and influence of the metropolitan and interior churches; of the clergy, regular and secular, their social life, standard of morality, general intelligence, education, principles, and influence. They are well known.

The fruits of 'ts mission.

The question forces itself upon the statesmen and philanthropists of Europe and America, have the churches, the religious institutions and the ecclesiastics

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of Mexico been fulfilling the mission of the Gospel of God? They have held by estimate one fourth of the real estate of the country. They have controlled all the offices of honor and power in the land; administered, directly and indirectly, all the functions of civil government; directed the whole policy of the nation, civil, political, military and ecclesiastical; regulated the entire system of education and religious instruction, the observance of all sacred rites and duties, the Sacraments, marriage, the Sabbath, and all that pertains to human life from the cradle to the grave. Has this "Church" been doing its duty? For three centuries it has had the position, the power, and the wealth for its work.

It had no opposition, no formidable system of error or idolatry to encounter; never, in the whole history of Christian missions, have the heralds of the "Cross" had such a field and such an opportunity. No overshadowing superstition, like that of "Great Diana of the Ephesians," no Greek or Roman mythology, or philosophy that held whole nations spell-bound, as in chains of moral death; but all Mexico was open, and a docile, gentle race were ready to receive the truths and embrace the blessings of the pure religion of Jesus. Never has there been such a failure. Of all the melancholy contrasts which can be suggested in the history of the "Church," there is nothing to compare with that of the first three centuries after the apostleship of Peter and Paul, and the first three centuries of the propagation of the gospel in Mexico.

True policy of "The Church" in Mexico.

Can the "Church" party in Mexico, under their responsibility to God, do a more righteous or better thing for themselves and their flocks, and their country, than to introduce and adopt the principles and the system of religious policy in the United States? and

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do all they can to extend through Central and South America those great ideas of civil and religious freedom which have made the Churches of Christ in the United States, of every name and denomination, with all their faults, still not second in purity, in order, in peace, prosperity, piety, and usefulness, to any religious organizations that ever existed in the world?

The same principles in Mexico will in time make her clergy and her population intelligent and moral, and her civil and religious institutions prosperous and Christian, like our own.

Spirit of the Volume.

This volume, therefore, breathes no spirit of hostility or opposition to the Catholic Church. It opposes only errors, abuses, oppression, and wrong in any body politic, anywhere. It pleads for human rights—the rights of eight millions of native Mexicans, abused, oppressed, down-trodden, crushed under the inexorable iron heel of three centuries.

To this end, facts and statements are collected and condensed, which it is hoped will commend themselves as worthy of consideration by statesmen and philanthropists; promote international sympathy and kindness, and secure for an injured race and people the protection which the strong owe to the weak; and save from further calumny and outrage a gentle and docile race, whose faults and vices, whatever they may be, should be visited more upon their oppressors than upon themselves.

The ROMAN CATHOLIC BRANCH of "The Church" is the most extensive and powerful organization that ever existed in this world. It numbers some two hundred millions, of almost every language and land. There is only one thing on this earth that is stronger—the MAJESTY of ETERNAL TRUTH AND JUSTICE! And JUAREZ and his compatriots

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planted upon this, though reviled, persecuted, and hunted by the civilized, as if *they were the savages*, have defied the combined power of four of the mightiest monarchies of earth, and with the simple stones of "truth" and "justice" have smitten this mighty, proud Goliath system of the ages.

CHAPTER II.

ROME AND MEXICO; OR THE ORIGIN OF THE PRINCIPLES AND ASSUMPTIONS OF "THE CHURCH PARTY."

It is impossible to understand the religious element in the "Mexican Question," without reverting to certain great historic events, which show how the two vast interests, the political and the ecclesiastical, have entered into the contest, from the beginning. These two elements of power and despotism have acted and re-acted upon each other, and influenced every thing else, in all the phases and stages of the struggle.

"It is," as Macauley says in another case, "one act in the great eventful drama, extending through ages, which must be very imperfectly understood, unless the plot of the preceding acts be well known."

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Principles of Modern Civilization.

The institutions, political, civil, and religious, and the general type of civilization in modern Europe and America, and especially in France, Great Britain, and the United States, are directly traceable to the Roman Empire. The destruction of that power and polity resulted in the distribution far and wide, among the kingdoms and governments that succeeded, of certain

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principles and forms of administration, which have shaped and moulded the constitutions and codes of Christendom from that day to this.

The Roman Empire. A. D. 476.

In A. D. 476, the Western Roman Empire came to an end. The hordes of barbarians,—Goths and Vandals, that for half a century had poured down from the north, and successively, under Alaric, Attila, Genseric, and Odoacer, had overrun and ravaged Italy—at length subdued the last vestige of resistance, deposed and banished the last of the Emperors, and subverted and swept away the whole *political power* and prowess of the "mistress of the world," and of the mighty ancient Empire of a thousand years. The throne, the crown, the sceptre, passed to pagan hands. The mitre alone remained, to sway the consciences and superstitious fears of Roman, Vandal, and Goth.

The Ancient Church Party.

The Bishop of Rome, the clergy, and all orders and interests of the "*Church Party*," made every possible effort to save their "ecclesiastical system," on which their position, wealth, and power depended. They compromised with their barbarian, heathen conquerors—the Pagans consenting to take the Christian name, and Bishops and Priests agreeing to adopt, in many respects, the pagan ritual, thus confounding the sublime and glorious truths of Christianity with the errors and superstitions of pagan mythology, and degrading and desecrating the pure, simple, spiritual worship of the church of Christ with the pompous rites and ceremonies of heathen idolatry.

Ascendency of the Priesthood.

Availing themselves of the extraordinary ascendency which priestly power so easily gains over the ignorant and superstitious, the bishops and clergy not only secured the *perpetuation of their ecclesiastical*

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functions and power, but also *great political immunities and concessions*,—the germs of conflicts, revolutions, and wars, in all subsequent ages, down to the last struggle in Mexico.

Invasion of the Barbarians.

Robertson says, "When the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire first embraced the Christian faith, they found the clergy in possession of considerable power, and they naturally transferred to those new guides the profound submission and reverence which they were accustomed to yield to the priests of that religion which they had just forsaken. They deemed their *persons* to be equally sacred with their *function*, and would have considered it as impious to subject them to the profane jurisdiction of the laity. The clergy were not blind to these advantages. *They established courts, in which every question relating to their own character, their function, their property, was tried and pleaded; and obtained almost total exemption from the authority of civil judges.*" *

Origin of Mexican "Fueros." A.D. 500.

Here is the germ of the Ecclesiastical "fueros," which the clergy have claimed in all lands and ages, and have fought to perpetuate in France, in Spain, and in Mexico.

Hallam's Middle Ages.

Hallam concurs in substantially the same views, as follows: "The devotion of the conquering nations, as it was still less enlightened than that of the subjects of the Empire, so was it still more munificent. They left indeed the worship of Hesus and Taranis in their forests; but they retained the elementary principles of that, *and of all barbarous idolatry, a superstitious reverence for the priesthood*,—a credulity that seemed to invite imposture, and a confidence in the efficacy of gifts to ex-

* Robertson's Charles V. p. 34.

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piate offences. Of this temper, it is undeniable that the ministers of religion, influenced probably, not so much by personal covetousness, as by zeal for the interests of their order, took advantage.

Statement of Mr. Hallam.

"Many of the peculiar and prominent characteristics in the faith and discipline of those ages, appear to have been either introduced, or sedulously promoted, for the purpose of sordid fraud. *To those purposes conspired the veneration for relics, the worship of images, the idolatry of saints and martyrs, the religious inviolability of sanctuaries, the consecration of cemeteries, but above all, the doctrine of purgatory, and masses for the relief of the dead.* A creed thus contrived, operating upon the minds of barbarians, lavish though rapacious, and devout though dissolute, naturally caused a torrent of opulence to pour in upon the Church." *

Progress of the claims of "the Church Party."

From these beginnings, the progress and establishment of the power and pretensions of the Bishops and Clergy were rapid and startling, and would shock the whole Christian world at the present day, if the facts were not so familiar, and the consequences so interwoven in the whole fabric of modern institutions of government in Church and State.

Origin of the Ecclesiastical System.

On the ruins of the demolished Roman Empire another power arose, uniting essentially the *political* and the *ecclesiastical* elements, which were soon consolidated in a gigantic system of error and superstition, combining the monstrous absurdities of old, exploded mythologies and idolatrous worship, with the strangest and most incongruous mingling of the fundamental and sublime truths of revelation.

* Hallam's Middle Ages, Chap. 7, p. 261.

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The stupendous Scheme.

It was a grand and comprehensive scheme. There was to be one head, one government, one Empire, temporal and spiritual. The Bishop of "OLD ROME," the "MOTHER OF DEAD EMPIRES," was to be "head Bishop," then "Universal Bishop," then "Vicar of Christ," "Judge in the place of God," "subject to no earthly tribunal," "Vice-gerent of the Most High,"—the temporal and spiritual monarch of all the Earth! "His Holiness, the Pope." *

The office of Pope of Pagan origin.

In old Pagan Rome, the office of Supreme Pontiff, from the time of Numa, had always been as much a political as a religious prerogative. Monumental remains in old Rome, to this day, bear inscriptions to Augustus and his successors as "Imperator et Pontifex Maximus." They exercised in person the office of Emperor and of High Priest of the Roman Empire.

He was to be the Sovereign of the habitable globe. The owner in fee simple of all the estates of Shem, Ham and Japhet,—absolute monarch of Continent, Island, and Ocean. He was to be the *spiritual* head of the human race of every continent and island, of every "kindred, tongue, and nation, and people," through all generations, down the track of ages to the last man.

Territorial jurisdiction.

The spiritual monarchy.

Den's theology, a standard authority in the Roman Catholic Church, says the supreme Pontiff is "Christ's vicar upon Earth." Christ instituted the church, not on the plan of an aristocratic or democratic government, but on the plan of a *monarchical government, yet tempered by that which is best in an aristocracy.* When He withdrew his visible presence by his ascension into Heaven, he constituted his "Vicar" the visible head of the Church.

* Gieseler. Vol. 1, p. 339.

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Universal dominion.

"The Roman Pontiff is called "Supreme Pontiff," not only because he holds the highest honor and dignity in the church, but principally because he has *supreme* and *universal authority, power, and jurisdiction over all Bishops and the whole church. He receives his power and jurisdiction immediately from Christ*, as His Vicar, just as Peter received it. Nor is it any objection that the Pope is elected by cardinals; for their election is only an essential requisite, which being supplied, *he receives power and jurisdiction immediately from Christ.*

The Bishop's title and jurisdiction.

The French contended that the *Bishops*, as well as the Pope, receive their power of jurisdiction immediately from Christ; but it seems that it ought rather to be said, that *they receive it immediately from the Roman Pontiff*, because the government of the church is *monarchical.*"

The Pope's absolute supremacy.

"The *Pope* has *plenitude* of *power* in the *Church;*" it extends to all who are in the church, and to all things that pertain to the government of the church; because the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole church, the pastor and teacher; so that all the faithful, even Bishops and Patriarchs, are obliged to obey the Roman Pontiff; and *he must be obeyed in all things which concern the Christian religion, in faith, customs, rites, and ecclesiastical discipline.* Hence the device falls to the ground, that the Pope is not to be obeyed, except in those things which he enjoins conformably to sacred Scripture."

The universal empire.

Such was the origin and such the principles that characterized this stupendous scheme of a universal empire, that should rival "the throne and monarchy of Heaven." With matchless skill and more than

* Den's Theology, 81–94.

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human art, the elements were compounded to meet the prejudices and tastes of the Jew, the Greek, the Roman, and the Pagan. Christianity, instead of fulfilling its mission of enlightening, converting, and sanctifying the natives, was itself *converted.* Paganism was *baptized*, Christianity *Paganized.*

The great historic facts and truths of Christianity, and its most sublime and solemn doctrines, were blended with the effete fables of old mythologies. The pure, intelligent, spiritual worship of primitive Christianity was merged in the superstitious rites and imposing sensual ceremonies of Pagan rituals. It was no longer the "worship of God, in spirit and in truth," but the perfunctory and spectacular displays of heathen temples, smoking altars, burning lights, pictures, images, tinkling bells, sprinkling priests, and singing boys.

This mistaken policy of seeking to conciliate and convert the heathen by introducing their idolatrous rites and ceremonies into Christian worship, was sanctioned and enforced by Boniface III., in his decrees adopting all these pagan observances, and enjoining uniformity of worship throughout the Roman Church. The same policy has been pursued from age to age, in France, in England, in China, and in Mexico.

Opinion of Mosheim.

Mosheim,* in his Ecclesiastical History, says, "The addition of external rites was also designed to remove the opprobrious calumnies which the Jewish and Pagan priests cast upon Christians on account of the simplicity of their worship, esteeming them little better than atheists, because they had no *temples*, *altars*, *victims*, *priests*, nor anything of that external pomp in which the vular are so prone to place the essence of religion. The

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. 1. p. 197.

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rulers of the Church therefore adopted certain external ceremonies, that they might captivate the senses of the vulgar, and be able to refute the reproaches of their adversaries; thus obscuring the native lustre of the gospel in order to extend its influence, and making it lose, in point of real excellence, what it gained in point of popular esteem."

Pagan origin of Papal ceremonies.

"The rites and institutions by which the Greeks, Romans, and other nations had formerly testified their religious veneration for fictitious deities, were now adopted, with some slight alterations, by Christian Bishops, and employed in the service of the true God. These heralds of the gospel imagined that the nations would receive Christianity with more facility, when they saw the rites and ceremonies to which they were accustomed adopted in the church, and the same worship paid to Christ and his martyrs as they had formerly offered to their idol deities. Hence, in these times, the religion of the Greeks and Romans differed very little in its external appearance from that of the Christians. They both had a most pompous and splendid ritual. Gorgeous robes, mitres, tiaras, wax tapers, crosiers, processions, lustrations, images, gold and silver vases, and many such circumstances of pageantry, were equally to be seen in the heathen temples and the Christian churches." *

Waddington's Church History.

Waddington, in his Church History,† attests the same: "The copious transfusion of heathen ceremonies into Christian worship, which had taken place before the end of the fourth century, had to a certain extent *paganized* (if we may so express it) the outward form and aspect of religion; and these ceremonies became

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Cent. iv. Part 2, Chap. 4.

† Waddington's History of the Church, p. 118.

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more general and more numerous, and more splendid, in the age which followed. To console the convert for the loss of his favorite festival, others of a different name, but of similar description, were introduced."

"It is true, the Church had been deeply corrupted both by that superstition and that philosophy against which she had long contended. She had given a too easy admission to doctrines borrowed from the ancient schools, and to *rites borrowed from the ancient temples.* Roman policy and Gothic ignorance, Grecian ingenuity and Syrian asceticism had contributed to deprave her."

The Scheme of Government.

Such, then, was the scheme, more fully disclosed and patent to the world in the progress of subsequent developments, namely:

I. *One universal Government.* The Roman Empire had its limits. The *new one* was to have none, save only those of the earth and of the race: so comprehensive as to embrace the Roman, the Greek, the Barbarian, and the Jew; Rome, the centre and the head, embracing the utmost limits of the empire; Greece, Asia Minor, and all the known and unknown regions of Europe, Asia, and Africa: so accommodating, in becoming "all things to all men," as to meet the prejudices and tastes, and satisfy the customs and traditions of all races, nationalities and tribes; aiming to blend in one grand body politic the people of the whole habitable globe, of whatever language, government, laws, or religion. So that the worshippers of Jehovah, of Jesus, of Jupiter, Venus, or Apollo might bow at the same altar and worship at the same shrine.

The Pope the Sovereign.

II. Of this Government there was to be one head; absolute, universal, infallible, and irresponsible. Every functionary, civil and ecclesiastical, bound by solemn oath to believe and to obey in all things

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the word and will of his Sovereign—the arbiter of the destiny, temporal and eternal, of every subject.

Temporal and spiritual power.

III. The two pillars of power by which this stupendous system was to be propagated and sustained, were the *sword* and *superstition*—the double arms of political and ecclesiastical authority.

Historical development.

A brief sketch of a few events in the progress of history will show the advances of the system, its present attitude of propagandism in face of modern civilization, and its connection with the struggle in Mexico.

The supreme and universal Bishop, the Pope, on the banks of the Tiber, claims to-day absolute and divine right, not only over the United States and Mexico, but over the whole continent, from Labrador to Patagonia. His title runs back directly through King Phocas, A. D. 696, to the great Apostle and first Bishop to the Jews, Peter.

Hildebrand. A. D. 1073.

In A. D. 1073, a monk of extraordinary character, Hildebrand, was elected Pope, under the title of Gregory VII. The life, the acts and the decrees of this Pontiff indicate the development of this stupendous scheme during the first five hundred years. He aimed to exalt the dominion of ecclesiastical authority, pure and simple, above all organic earthly powers, and above all individual human rights. He sought to make Emperor, King, and Prince a vassal of the Pope. He assumed to release all subjects from their allegiance to their King.

The Pope's Anathema.

On one occasion he anathematized and deposed King Henry IV., calling on St. Peter and St. Paul to confirm and ratify his act of deposition in these bold words:

"Make all men sensible that, as you can bind and loose every thing in Heaven, you can also upon earth take from or give to, every one according to his deserts, Em-

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pires, Kingdoms, Principalities. Let the Kings and Princes of the age then instantly feel your power, that they may not dare to *despise the orders of your church.* Let your justice be so speedily executed upon Henry, that nobody may doubt that he falls by your means, and not by chance."

He claimed supreme and absolute dominion and authority over the whole domain of Europe, Germany, Italy, France, Spain, Great Britain.

Ambition of Gregory VII.

"Gregory," says his biographer Bower, "was led by an ambition the world never heard of before, of establishing an uncontrolled tyranny over mankind, of making himself the sole Lord, spiritual and temporal, over the whole earth—the sole disposer of Empires, States, and Kingdoms." *

Decrees of Gregory VII.

Among the decrees of Pope Gregory VII. are these:

"The Roman Pontiff alone should of right be styled 'UNIVERSAL BISHOP.'

"The Pope alone can wear Imperial ornaments.

"All princes are to kiss his foot, and pay that mark of distinction to him alone.

"It is lawful for him to depose Emperors.

"His judgment no man may reverse, but he can reverse all other judgments.

"He is to be judged by no man.

"The Roman Church has never erred, nor will she ever err, according to the Scriptures.

"The Pope can absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance which they have taken to a bad Prince.

"He can depose and restore Bishops without assembling a Synod."

* Bower's Life of Gregory VII.

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Baroneus (cardinal) says: "Istas hactenus in ecclesiæ catholicæ usu receptas fuisse."

In one of his Epistles, Gregory says, "The Episcopal Dignity is of Divine Institution; the Royal, is the invention of men, and owes its origin to pride and ambition. Bishops therefore are above Kings, as well as above all other men, and may judge them, as well as other men."

CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENT AND ILLUSTRATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND OF FRANCE.

Results in Great Britain.

THE history of Great Britain furnishes one of the most extraordinary and instructive illustrations of the extent and power of these pretensions. If it were not incontestible history, it would be deemed incredible throughout Christendom to-day.

Innocent III. A. D. 1198.

In A. D. 1198, Innocent III. was elected Pope. A sharp controversy arose, during the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion, in respect to the erection of an Episcopal Palace at Lambeth. The King and the Archbishop of Canterbury were engaged in erecting the structure. The Pope disapproved of the proceeding, and sent his bulls to the king and to the archbishop, threatening to suspend the one and dethrone the other, if they did not immediately desist and demolish the works at Lambeth. The Pope declared, that if the king did not instantly obey, "he would not endure the least contempt of himself, *or of God*, whose place he held *upon earth;* but would punish, without delay, and without respect of persons, every one who presumed to disobey his commands, in order to convince the WHOLE WORLD, that he was determined to act in a ROYAL MANNER."

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The bulls from the banks of the Tiber were too much for the "Lion-hearted" and the Archbishop on the Thames. In less than three months the foundations of Lambeth were razed to the ground!

Pope Innocent and King John.

After the death of King Richard, and the accession of King John, another violent dispute arose between Pope Innocent and the King of England, respecting the election of Stephen Langton, as successor to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. The Pope wished the Primate of all England to be appointed by *his sole authority*, and to be subject to him. King John claimed the honor, dignity, and the rights of his crown and kingdom. The Pope insisted. King John protested.

The Pope's Interdict. A. D. 1208.

In A. D. 1208, the Pope laid all the dominions of King John under an "*interdict*."

Says Mr. Hume, this sentence "was calculated to strike the senses in the highest degree, and to operate with irresistible force on the superstitious minds of the people. The nation was all of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all the churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid upon the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with closed doors, and none but priests were admitted to that holy institution. The laity partook of no religious rite, except the communion to the dying: the dead were not interred in consecrated ground; they were thrown into ditches, or buried in common fields, and their obsequies were not at-

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tended with prayers or any hallowed ceremony. Marriage was celebrated in the churchyard, and that every action in life might bear the marks of this dreadful situation, the people were prohibited the use of meat, as in Lent or times of the highest penance, were debarred from all pleasures and entertainments, and were forbidden even to salute each other, or so much as to shave their beards or give any decent attention to their apparel. Every circumstance carried symptoms of the deepest distress, and of the most immediate apprehension of divine vengeance and indignation." *

This seems to have a been a favorite method of the Pope and "The Church Party," in all ages, to reduce the refractory to obedience. To crush a recusant sovereign, they will deprive millions upon millions of innocent people of all the rites and privileges and consolations of religion. The bridal, the baptism, and the grave for a whole nation are ostracised from all Christian offices or spiritual benediction, because a King disagrees with the Pope!

How often has this been the Papal artifice in Europe! The reader will observe the "The Church Party" repeated it in Mexico.

Excommunication of King John.

After two years, King John was "*excommunicated*," and by command of the Pope, the bishops and clergy of all his dominion were required to proclaim in all the churches the awful act.

The Pope's Legates.

Shortly after this the Pope sent his legates to England, who confronted the King in Parliament, and boldly bade him obey the will of the Pope without reserve, in temporal as well as in spiritual things; and on the King's refusal, *fulminated the sentence of excommunication, and with loud and insulting menace ab-*

* Hume's England, p. 110.

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solved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, pronounced the Sovereign degraded from his royal dignity, and declared that neither he nor any of his posterity should ever reign in England.

Intervention in England.

This was intervention in England!

The Pope ratified all that his legates had done, and with great and imposing solemnity in Rome, repeated himself the priestly sentence of *excommunication and deposition of King John, and of excommunication of all who should obey him, or have any connection with him.*

This was an age of superstition. King and Prince, priest and people, considered the utterances of the Pope as of most awful and appalling import. And King John began to feel the universal tremor creeping over his absolved subjects, and trembled for his crown and for his soul.

League of the Pope and the King of France to form a stable Government in England.

The Pope, in order to carry home to England and England's King, and to all other kings and kingdoms, the terrible lesson he would teach the nations, enlisted KING PHILIP OF FRANCE to aid him in the execution of his sweeping decrees.

He offered Philip *the pardon of all his sins,* AND THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, as his reward, for aiding this Roman Jupiter to discharge his ecclesiastical thunderbolts upon the throne and dominions of one who would not obey him.

King John at the feet of the Pope.

Poor King John! excommunicated, deposed, terrified with the loss of crown and kingdom, with prospective purgatory and the loss of his soul, because of adhering to his own choice in the election of the Archbishop of Canterbury, bends his royal will and neck, and sues for peace with the Pope.

Fleet of the King of France.

The King of France assembled his legions for this intervention at Rouen, and a fleet of 1700

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transports were in waiting for the invasion of faithless Albion, and the transfer and deliverence of the whole dominion, temporal and spiritual, by the power and authority, supreme, absolute, and immaculate, of the successor of St. Peter, to his faithful son and ally, Philip of France.

Behold the result. King John, on his knees, delivered to the legate his humble submission, in the following terms:*

The Kingdom of England conveyed to the Pope.

"I, John, by the grace of God, King of England * * * freely grant unto God, and the Holy Apostles, Peter and Paul, and to the Holy Roman Church, our mother, and unto the LORD, POPE INNOCENT, and to his Catholic successors, the whole kingdom of England, and the whole kingdom of Ireland, with all the rights and all the appurtenances of the same, *for the remission of our sins and of all our generation, both for the living and the dead, that from this time forward we may receive and hold them of him, and of the Roman Church, as second after him.* We have sworn and do swear unto the said Lord, Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors, and to the Roman church, a liege homage, in the presence of Pandulphus. If we can be in the presence of the Lord Pope, we will do the same; *and to this we oblige our heirs and successors forever*"!!

The Pope satisfied.

The Pope is appeased, accepts the submission, and the title-deed of the kingdom. The disappointed Philip is forbidden to proceed against the now penitent son and faithful vassal of the church, and the kingdom now became, by due conveyance, "sealed with the King's signet," an acknowledged part of the real estate of the church.

* Matthew Paris, pp. 158, 159. Annal. Monast. Burton, apud rerum Anglican, script. t. 1. p. 165.

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Poor King John.

King John, humbled and obsequious, is forgiven, released from "interdict," and is sustained by his master, whose principles, policy, and pretensions he himself sustains.

The sturdy Barons of old England.

When the sturdy barons of old England demanded and obtained the immortal charter of English liberty from the reluctant King, this "Jupiter Tonans" at Rome issued another volley of ecclesiastical thunderbolts at the loyal patriots of Albion, struggling, like those of Mexico since, for human rights.

Another anathema.

"We have excommunicated and anathematised, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,—in the name of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and in our own name,—the Barons of England, with their partisans and abettors, for persecuting John, the illustrious King of England, who *has taken the cross, and is a vassal of the Roman church*, and for striving to deprive him of a kingdom that is known to belong to the Roman church." *

The Magna Charta.

But the Magna Charta of 1215 stands, the imperishable monument of Old England's declaration of human rights and liberties. Representation with taxation, the habeas corpus, and trial by jury, were the results of baronial resistance to Papal and regal assumptions. The Pope fulminated "excommunication" and "anathema," under all sacred names. He exhausted all the resources of ecclesiastical artillery. But there was no temporal sword at command. The King of France was not ready to undertake a second intervention. The army at Rouen and the fleet of transports for the invasion and conquest of England, were measures, under the circumstances not to be repeated.

* Matthew Paris, p. 192.

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The sequel will show how this whole history, in its principles and development, has had its counterpart in the experience of Mexico.

The reign of Innocent III.

It was in the reign of this same Innocent III., about 1212, that the two memorable mendicant orders were instituted, the Dominican and Franciscan; the first of which brought into being that system of unutterable infamy and atrocity, the Inquisition.

The two orders were engaged in the work of extirpating the enemies of the papal supremacy. Their influence and power in spiritual, temporal, and political affairs, for centuries, was almost universal and absolute, both in Church and State. They occupied the most important positions, ecclesiastical and civil, literary and religious, political and diplomatic, and were the most abject champions of the pretensions and assumed prerogatives of the Roman Pontiffs. Kings, Princes, Bishops, and the whole church, and the whole outside world, whom they denounced as heretics, trembled alike before them.

Corruptions of Christianity.

A gigantic, towering system of corrupted, paganized Christianity, a system of unutterable ignorance, superstition, and imposture; of intolerable despotism, temporal and spiritual; of organized and systematic outrage of the rights of man, has overshadowed the nations. Language can scarcely exaggerate the picture, which even its friends have given, of the abyss of degeneracy, degradation, and wretchedness of this system in Mexico.

Causes of Revolutions.

In order to understand its operation and effects, it is necessary to trace from its origin this violation of human rights in the corruptions of Christianity, the progress of error and oppression, and the development of both in the history of Mexico. Here

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lies the very core of her revolutionary troubles. The conflicts, the revolutions, the civil wars during the last forty years have all had resistance to ecclesiastical tyranny at the bottom.

The "Church party" have again and again rested their pretensions and claims upon the authority of Church "traditions" as their "Common law," and the "Decrees of the Council of Trent" as their "Statutory Code."

CHAPTER IV.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT; ITS AUTHORITY, DECREES, AND JURISDICTION IN MEXICO.

The Council and its members.

On the 13th of December, 1545, a little more than three centuries ago, one hundred and eighty-seven Italian Bishops, thirty-two Spanish, twenty-six French, and two Germans, in all two hundred and forty-seven, assembled in the city of Trent. The council was convoked by a bull of Pope Paul III., to consider and settle various matters of reform in faith and discipline which were then agitating the Christian world. They were not a constituent, representative, legislative assembly, "holding the proxies of the Christian Universe," but they gravely assumed to legislate not only for the four countries represented, but also for all mankind, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America territorially, and chronologically for the whole human race throughout all generations down to the end of time!

Claim of authority.

Their claim was of an imprescriptible, *divine* authority and right to make "faith" and "law" by a vote of the majority. *One hundred and twenty-four!* for a thousand millions of mankind in every language and

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in every land, in regions known or unknown, represented or not!

Sixty foreign Bishops, and one hundred and eighty Italians, in the year of grace 1545, promulgated principles, articles of Faith, and a code of Laws as if they were the Edicts of the Almighty, of universal, everlasting obligation, binding the countless thousands of millions of all successive generations. In their estimation, the Decrees of Trent superseded the Decalogue, and abrogated the rest of the Bible!

Let us then examine

> "That Sovereign Law, that 'Trent's' collected will,
> Which claims o'er thrones, and hemispheres, and globes,
> To sit the universal Empress."

Action and its results.

Without going into the history of this Council, of its members and their character, of the course of its proceedings, its management, and virtual control from Rome, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to name its leading principles and acts, and to state such of its results as have filtered through the structures of government in Church and State during the last three hundred years, everywhere the fruitful source of conflict and trouble, and in Mexico, forming the very crater of convulsion, revolution, and civil war.

January 6th, 1564, the Pope's Bull confirmed the decrees, and the legislation for the world was done! "Faith and works," "rights and interests," "laws and duties," for our race were all settled.

Principles of the Council of Trent.

The following analysis of the principles of the Council and its decrees is in accordance with the highest Roman Catholic authorities.*

* Lectures on the Roman Church, Prof. Quinet, of the College of France. History of the Council of Trent.

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THE POPE.

I. That Jesus Christ constituted Peter as the supreme head of the twelve Apostles, and his successor and vicegerent on earth, and that all the other Apostles were subject to him.

II. That the Pope of Rome succeeds to all the titles and rights of Peter, who by Christ's appointment placed his seat at Rome and there remained until his death, and that all of Peter's rights have passed regularly down through the line of his successors to Paul III. and Pius IX.

III. That the greatness of the Pope's priesthood began in Melchizedek; was solemnized in Aaron, and continued in Aaron's sons; was made perfect in Christ, and represented in Peter; was exalted in the Pontifical universal jurisdiction, and manifested in his successors.

IV. That the Pope is immaculate, infallible, and irresponsible to any earthly tribunal or power. "He is judge of all, can be judged by none, neither Emperor, Kings, Priests, nor people." He is free from all laws, so that he cannot incur any sentence of irregularity, suspension, or excommunication, or penalty for any crime.

Prerogatives and powers of the Pope.

V. The Pope is, by Divine Right, invested with all *spiritual powers*, and is the "sovereign head, supreme judge, and lawgiver in all things relating to religion, whether as to faith, manners, or discipline. The Pope is all in all, and above all, so that God and the Pope, the vicar of God, are but one consistory. Wherefore the Pope hath power to change times, to abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, even the precepts of Christ, in regard to war, marriage, divorce, revenge, swearing, usury, homicide, perjury, and uncleanness." "The Pope hath all

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power in earth, purgatory, hell and heaven, to bind, loose, command, permit, elect, confirm, depose, dispense, do and undo. Therefore it is concluded, commanded, declared, and pronounced *to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff.*"

VI. All temporal power is his The dominion, jurisdiction, and government of the whole earth is his by divine right. So that all emperors, kings, princes, and rulers of the earth are his subjects, and must submit to him.

VII. "All the earth is the Pope's diocese;" "the heathen are constituted, by Divine decree, as his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth are his possession."

VIII. The Pope is supreme over all ecclesiastical authority and councils of the Universal Church. He has absolute power over them; they have none over him. Infallibility in the spiritual order, and absolute sovereignty in the temporal, are synonymous and convertible terms.

The common sense of mankind must pronounce against such assumptions, as a preposterous absurdity. And if such pretensions are made and maintained in the name of religion, it requires neither boldness nor courage to say, that no matter what the authority—Emperor, King, Pope, Priest, or Council—that maintains them, the masses of mankind throughout Christendom will repudiate them, as an utter caricature and travestie of Christianity.

Preposterous pretensions.

Such a tissue of preposterous absurdities never issued before from a human brain, unless as Laboulaye says, "THE EARTH BELONGS TO THE DEAD, AND NOT TO THE LIVING!" Only an age of ignorance, superstition and bigotry, and a generation despoiled of all independence and manhood by years of despotism and oppression, would have tolerated it. The wonder is, that indignant humanity did not rise in the majesty of truth

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and right, and sweep to destruction the whole fabric and policy, with all its agents and abettors. Apocalyptic prophecy declares it will yet be done, not by human, but by Divine indignation and wrath.

The great obstacle to modern civilization.

The history of human oppression affords no encouragement that Popes, Emperors, Bishops, or Kings will *voluntarily* yield one iota of their assumptions and claims. The recent series of Bulls, Encyclicals, Allocutions, and letters missive seem to imply the insane determination to arrest the car of modern civilization by this effete system. Either the rushing car of the nations in the career of progress and human improvement in our times must be driven from the track, or Popery with its pretensions must be crushed beneath the wheels.

This system of civil and ecclesiastical despotism which ran its course a thousand years in Europe, crossed the ocean to the New World. Here, in the blazing light of the nineteenth century, it has enlisted the aid of three of the mighty powers of Europe to arrest in the Western hemisphere the progress of liberty, civilization, and Christianity.

The last phase and the last act of this stupendous system appears in the great highway of the nations—the golden gates of the Atlantic and Pacific; between North and South America, on the meridian; on the parallel, between Europe and Asia; as if, in an ordained position, that the world might be spectators.

Here "The Church Party" assert the authority, quote the Decrees, and denounce the anathemas of the Council of Trent, to justify and enforce their intolerable system of despotism.

The following statement and application of these principles is from the pen of Mr. Brownson, and is believed

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to be the accepted doctrine of "The Church," at the present day. At least, so far as is known, it has never been denied.

The supremacy of "The Church."

"Civil government is, properly speaking, only the subordinate department of government. The people are subject to a higher law than that of civil government—to a *higher Sovereign* than the State. When this higher Sovereign, THE REAL SOVEREIGN, of which the State is but the minister, commands, it is our duty to resist the *civil ruler*, and *to overthrow*, if need be, the civil government. This higher Sovereign is, as we have seen, the will of God, represented in this Department by 'THE CHURCH.' It belongs to 'THE CHURCH,' then, as the representative of the highest authority upon earth, to determine when resistance is proper, and to prescribe its form and extent. When this commands, it is our duty to obey."

Meaning of supremacy.

The Pope is, therefore, if the foregoing statements are true, the supreme, absolute, universal Sovereign, invested with all power, temporal and spiritual, over the whole earth. The four quarters of the globe are his dominion. His jurisdiction covers all humanity. The souls, bodies, and services of men belong to him. All political and ecclesiastical power inheres in him. All earthly administration must emanate from him. The legislative, judiciary, and executive power, for all nations, all ages, all conditions of men, are his prerogative. He enthrones and dethrones. All Emperors, Kings, Bishops, and Priests are, of right, his creation. And all rulers who reject his authority are usurpers. Every office on earth, of honor, power, trust, or emolument, is his gift. Privileges, dispensations, *fueros*, prohibitions, interdicts, are his. He grants or forbids freedom of opinion, of con-

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science, of speech, and of the press. He decrees all that we must believe. He enjoins all that we must do. He forgives or punishes. Councils are called to execute his will, and promulgate his edicts. Bishops, Priests, and all orders of brotherhood or sisterhood, are of his creation. He says, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice." He alone binds and dissolves the marriage tie. All education must be moulded to his views. Decoration and vestment, food and fast, literature and science, slavery and civilization, are his behests It is for him to bind and loose. Life and death, even, hang upon his breath. The Inquisition and dungeons rise—fire and faggot kindle, at his word. The keys of Heaven, of Purgatory, and of Hell are in his hands, and he opens and closes the gates at his will.

The Church and the Patriots.

Such are the claims which "The Church Party" in Mexico have ever and everywhere asserted and sought to maintain. The Republican Patriots of Mexico have denied and resisted them. The totality of the struggle in Mexico has hinged upon the assertion and the denial, the attempted enforcement and resistance, of such claims as these.

CHAPTER V.

THE MEXICAN "CHURCH PARTY;" ITS ORGANIZATION, WEALTH AND POWER.

The vital element in the question.

THE power and the policy of the ecclesiastical establishment of Mexico, and the character, social position, and influence of "The Church party," wielding the two-edged sword of the magistrate and the priest, are vital elements in the Mexican problem. They have been the prolific source of all the troubles, revolutions, and struggles of the republic.

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"The Church Party."

The "Church party" is as old as the conquest. It is, in Mexico, the growth of three centuries. Its ramifications enter into all the elements and interests of Mexican society. It has always wielded the sword of the state, and all the enginery of spiritual power. The Briarean arms of the Viceroy and of the Bishop have ruled with a rod of iron. The whole system, organization, and policy are of foreign origin, not created in Mexico, but transplanted there. The germs of the whole structure were planted a millenneum before Columbus was born. In order to understand Mexico, and her revolutions and wars, it is indispensable to trace the system from its source, down through its dark, despotic career.

"Statistics of The Church."

In 1850, Señor Lerdo de Tejado, First Official de Ministerio de Fomento, published a statistical chart,* containing the following synopsis of the Mexican Hierarchy, of the religious houses, their endowments, revenue, salaries, &c.

Archbishop of Mexico,.....	1
Bishops,.....	11
Prebends,.....	184
Parishes,.....	1229
Ecclesiastics:	
Regular Monks, bound by monastic vows and rules,.....	1139
Secular Clergy, in parish service,.....	2084
Convents of Monks,.....	146
Convents of Nuns,.....	59
Colleges for propagating the faith,.....	8
Ecclesiastics inhabiting Convents,.....	1139
Nuns residing in Convents,.....	1541
Young girls in Convents,.....	740

* Grando Sinoptico de la Republica Mexicana en 1850. Por Miguel M. Lerdo y Tejado, approved by the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics.

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Servants in Convents,	870
Members of Colleges for propagating the Faith,	238
Total,	9389
Conventual Establishments of the "Regular Orders."	
Dominicans,	25
Franciscans,	68
Augustines,	22
Carmelites,	16
Mercedarios,	19
Total,	150
Present estimated number of Ecclesiastics,	7000

Church Revenue.

The general revenue destined for the maintenance of the clergy, and of religious services in the republic, may be divided into four classes.

I. That which appertains to the bishops and to the canons, who form the chapter of the Cathedral.

II. Those revenues which appertain to particular ecclesiastics and chaplaincies.

III. Those of curates and vicars.

IV. Those of various communities of *religios*, of both sexes.

Tithes and first-fruits.

The first class is principally of tithes and first-fruits, the product of which was very considerable in times past, when they included a *tenth part of all the first fruits* which grew upon the soil of the republic, *and the firstlings of the cattle.* But lately this revenue has much fallen off, since, by the law of the 17th of October, 1833, it is no longer obligatory upon the cultivators to pay this contribution. Nevertheless, there are still many persons who, for conscientious reasons, or for other cause, continue to pay this tax, so that it produces a very considerable sum. This part of the clergy also

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receive considerable sums, which have been left by devout persons for the performance of certain annual ceremonies, called anniversaries.

Special capital. The collegiate church of our Lady of Guadalupe has, in addition to a monthly lottery which operates upon a capital of $13,000, certain properties and other capitals, of which the government takes no account.

Particular ecclesiastics and chaplains are supported on a capital, generally of $3000, established by certain pious persons for that object, besides the alms of the faithful, which are given for a certain number of masses, to be applied to objects of their devotion.

Support of the Curates. The support of curates consists of parochial rights, namely, fees for baptisms, marriages, funerals, responses, and religious celebrations (*funcions*), which, in their respective churches, they command the faithful to make; and finally, by the profits which they derive from the sale of *novenas*, medals, scapularies, ribbons (*madedas*), wax, and other objects which the parishoners employ.

Income of Convents. The income of convents of monks, besides the alms which they receive for masses, *funcions*, and funerals, which they celebrate in the convent churches, consists of the rents of great properties, which they have accumulated in the course of ages.

The convents of nuns are in like manner supported by the income of great estates, with the exception of two or three convents, which possess no property, and whose inmates live on charity.

Besides the incomes named, which pertain to the *personnel* of the clergy, there are in the cathedrals and other parochial churches revenues which arise from some properties and foundations, created for attending to certain

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dues, called "*fabrica*," which consist of all those objects necessary for the services of this worship.

Management of property.

From the want of publicity which is generally observed in the management of the properties and incomes of the clergy, it is impossible to fix exactly the value of one or the other; but they can be calculated approximately by taking for the basis, those data which are within the reach of the public, which are the total value of the production of the annual return (movimiento) of the population for births, marriages, deaths, and finally the devout practices, which are still customary among the greater part of the population. Observing carefully these data, I assume, without the fear of committing a great error, that the total amount which the clergy to-day realize, in the whole extent of the republic, for *rents*, proceeds of tithes, parochial rights, alms, religious ceremonies (funcions), and for the sale of divers objects of devotion, is between *eight and ten millions of dollars.*

Aggregate of wealth.

Some writers have estimated the properties belonging to the clergy at *one half of the productive wealth* of the nation; others at one-third part; but I cannot give much credit to such writers, as they are only calculations that rest on no certain data. I am sure that the total amount of the property of the clergy, for chaplaincies, foundations, and other pious uses, together with rustic and city properties which belong to the divers religious corporations, amount to an enormous sum, notwithstanding the falling off, that is said to have taken place from the amounts of former years.

Wealth of the Clergy.

All property in the district of Mexico [federal district] is estimated at $50,000,000, *the half of which pertains to the clergy.* Uniting the product of this property to the tithes, parochial rights, etc., I am well as-

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sured that the total of the income of the clergy amounts to from eighteen to twenty millions of dollars.

SALARIES OF THE NINE BISHOPS.

The Archbishop of Mexico	$130,000
Bishop of Pueblo	110,000
" Valladolid	110,000
" Guadalajara	90,000
" Durango	35,000
" Monterey	30,000
" Yucatan	20,000
" Oajaca	18,000
" Sonora	6,000
Total income of twelve Bishops	$539,000

THE CHURCH PROPERTY.

Church property.

In 1850, the estimate of the property of the church was as follows:

Real estate, city and country	$18,000,000
Churches, houses, convents, curates, dwellings, furniture, jewels, sacred vessels, and other personalities	52,000,000
Floating capital, &c	20,000,000
Total	$90,000,000

It is estimated that the aggregate amount drawn from the poor natives, in contributions, royal exactions, and other imposts for the benefit of the clergy, would correspond to at least a capital of $115,000,000.

The power which the clergy possess in the wealth of their churches, the extent of their landed property, as lenders and mortgagees in Mexico, where there are no banks, is enormous. The money power is next to the spiritual.

* Essai Politique, vol. 1, p. 173.

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Support of the Church.

"Senor Lerdo estimates the amount consumed in the maintenance of the 3,223 ecclesiastics is annually $20,000,000, besides the very large sums expended in the repairs and ornaments of an enormous number of churches, and in gifts at the shrines of the different images, which cannot be appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy. This sum of $20,000,000, if fairly divided among them, would yield an abundant support, though not an extravagant living; but unfortunately *the greatest portion of this immense sum is absorbed by the bishops*, while the priests of the villages contrive to exist by the contributions they wring out of the *peons*. At the time of the census, 1793, the twelve bishops had $539,000 appropriated to their support, but now their revenues are so mixed up with the revenues of the church, that it is impossible to say how much these twelve successors of the apostles appropriate to their own support!"—Wilson's "Mexico," p. 322.

The money power.

"In place of the Inquisition, which the reformed Spanish government took away from the Church of Mexico, the church now wields the power of wealth, almost fabulous in amount, which is practically in the hands of a close corporation-sole. *The influence of the Archbishop, as the substantial owner of half the property in the city of Mexico*, gives him a power over his tenants unknown under our system of laws. Besides this, a large portion of the church property is in money, and the Archbishop is the great loan and trust company of Mexico. Nor is this power by any means an insignificant one. A bankrupt government is overawed by it. Men of intellect are crushed into silence, and no opposition can successfully stand against the influence of the CHURCH LORD who carries in his hand the treasures of heaven, and in his money

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bags, the material that moves the world. To understand the full force of his power of money, it must be borne in mind that Mexico is a country proverbial for recklessness in all conditions of life; for extravagant living, and extravagant equipages; a country where a man's position in society is determined by the state he maintains; a country, the basis of whose wealth is the mines of precious metal, where princely fortunes are quickly acquired and suddenly lost, and where hired labor has hardly a cash value. In such a country, the power and influence of money has a meaning beyond any idea we can form. Look at a prominent man making an ostentatious display of his devotion; his example is of advantage to the church, and the church may be of advantage to him, for it has an abundance of money at 6 per cent. per annum, while the outside moneylenders charge him 2 per cent. per month. The church too may have a mortgage upon his house overdue; and woe betide him if he should undertake a crusade against the church. This is a string that the church can pull upon, which is strong enough to overawe government itself."—Wilson's "Mexico," p. 323.

THE MILITARY POWER.

Military power of the Church.

In 1840, the military and naval forces of Mexico were estimated at 40,000 men. The organization of the army, in divisions and brigades of artillery (mounted and on foot), infantry, cavalry, and engineering corps, was eminently adapted to the condition of the country, and the purposes of the government. There were fourteen generals of division, and twenty-six of brigade; all, of course, virtually under the dominant influence and control of the appointing and supporting power. The annual war estimates were *eight millions* of dollars.

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At about the same period the whole military force of the United States did not exceed 10,000 men, at an annual expense of about *three millions* of dollars.

The military arm of the Republic was always wielded by the clergy. "The church" and "the army," though separate and distinct organizations, were bound together by ties of inseparable interest. Thus the clerical, the monetary, and the military power of the Republic formed one consolidated force, to resist any reforms in the "Old Regime." The priesthood, the aristocracy, the monopolists, and military officers, as a whole, acted in concert together.

The System.

Such is the *religious system*, the very foundations of which are laid in despotism of the most absolute and revolting forms; the fruits of which, for centuries, have been ignorance, superstition, degradation, and vice; the system which, in this nineteenth century, the two foremost nations in Europe, leading the van of civilization—England and France—combined with the "old Spanish Regime," in the intervention alliance, to force and fasten in perpetuity upon helpless Mexico! God "delivered her that had no helper."

CHAPTER VI.

CATHEDRALS, CHURCHES, AND CONVENTS.

The temples and the worship.

NOTHING more surely indicates the character of a priesthood, and the kind of influence they exert upon a people, than the structure and appointments of their sacred temples, and the manner and tendency of their worship and religious observances.

This condition of things is strikingly instructive in

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Mexico, and shows how utterly perverted are all the truths and institutions of the gospel; how degenerate and dead the whole economy of grace, for the instruction, enlightenment, and salvation of men.

Cathedrals.

Cathedrals and churches are converted into mere bazars, for the exhibition of the accumulated wealth of "The Church;" the display of gold and silver; jewels and gewgaws; embroidered vestments of silk, satin, and gold; pampered luxury at the altar, and tattered rags, deplorable ignorance, and squalid wretchedness in the aisles. They have become mere puppet-shows of meaningless mummeries in an unknown tongue, and marionette performances, to amuse and bewilder the people—not to instruct, to elevate, and to save them.

Throughout all Mexico, the cathedrals and churches are adorned with costly and tawdry ornamentations of every description. The interiors are loaded with sculptures of fabulous richness, with images, paintings, and gaudy trappings—all designed to overpower the minds and work upon the superstitions of an uninstructed people. The following are descriptions from eye-witnesses.

THE CATHEDRAL OF PUEBLA.

Cathedral of Puebla.

The cathedral of Puebla is in all its details and arrangements the most magnificent in the Republic. Some idea of the extent and wealth of its decorations may be derived from a very few statements. The great chandelier suspended from the centre of its vast dome is a mass of gold and silver, weighing tons. When cleaned thoroughly, a few years ago, the cost of its purification was *four thousand dollars!*

The High Altar.

The High Altar, erected by one of the bishops, is a colossal monument of marvellous and

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complicated work, and presents the greatest display of Mexican marbles in the Republic. The variety of colors is very great. One is of a pure, brilliant white, as transparent as alabaster.

The rail and steps, of fine marble, lead to a circular platform, eight or ten feet above the floor, beneath which is the sepulchre of the bishops. It is constructed of the most precious materials, and divided into niches and panels. The whole is surmounted by a dome, relieved by bronze and golden circles, from the centre of which hangs a silver lamp, forever burning in this habitation of the dead.

The figure of the Virgin.

To the right of the altar is the gem of the building. It is a figure of the Virgin Mary, near the size of life. Dressed in the richest embroidered satin, she displays strings of the largest pearls, hanging from her neck to below her knees. Around her brow is clasped a crown of gold, inlaid with emeralds of marvellous size. Her waist is bound with a zone of diamonds, from the centre of which blaze numbers of enormous brilliants.

The Temple of the "Host."

"The candelabras surrounding the platform before the altar, are of silver and gold, and so ponderous that a strong man can neither lift nor move them. Immediately above the altar, and within the columns of the large temple erected there, is a smaller one, the interior of which is opened or concealed by means of machinery. From this the HOST, amid a blaze of priceless and innumerable jewels, is exhibited to the kneeling multitude!"

The principal dome is, of course, in the centre of the church. Opposite the front of the altar is the choir, remarkable for the workmanship of the richly carved woodwork of the stalls for the canons and clergy.*

* Mayer's Mexico, p. 24.

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The whole is a mine of wealth and splendor.

THE CATHEDRAL OF MEXICO.

This edifice was begun in 1573, by order of Philip II., and was finished in 1667. It is of the Doric order, and cost about 2,000,000 of dollars. The principal façade has three entrance doors, and is flanked by two square towers. At the base of one of these is the celebrated Aztec calendar, an enormous granite monolith, which was removed in 1790 from the place where it had been buried.

By the side of the cathedral is the Sagrario, another church, the two façades of which are entirely covered with sculptures. The richness, or more properly speaking, the excess, the abuse of ornamentation, appears in this monument as nowhere else.

Site of the Cathedral.

It occupies the site of the great idol temple of Montezuma, and is five hundred feet long by four hundred and twenty wide. Upon entering it, one is apt to recall the wild fictions of the Arabian Nights; it seems as if the wealth of empires was collected there. The clergy of Mexico do not, for obvious reasons, desire that their wealth should be made known to its full extent. They are, therefore, not disposed to give very full information upon the subject, or to exhibit the gold and silver vessels, vases, precious stones, and other forms of wealth. Quite enough is exhibited to strike the beholder with wonder.

The Great Altar.

The first object that presents itself on entering the cathedral is the altar, erected on a platform near the centre of the building; it is made of highly wrought and highly polished silver, and covered with a profusion of crosses and ornaments of pure gold.* On

* It is surmounted by a small temple, in which rests the figure of

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each side of this altar runs a balustrade, enclosing a space about eight feet wide, and eighty or a hundred feet long. The balusters are about four feet high, and four inches thick in the largest part; the handrail from six to eight inches wide. Upon the top of this handrail, at the distance of six or eight feet apart, are human images, beautifully wrought, and about two feet high, used as candelabras. All of these, the balustrade, handrail, and images, are made of a compound of gold, silver, and copper—more valuable than silver. It is said an offer was once made to take this balustrade, and replace it with another of exactly the same size and workmanship of pure silver, and to give half a million of dollars besides. There is much more of the same balustrade in other parts of the church, probably in all not less than three hundred feet.

Decorations and wealth.

As you walk through the building, on either side there are different apartments, all filled from the floor to the ceiling with paintings, statues, vases, huge candlesticks, waiters, and a thousand other articles of gold or silver. Such is only the everyday display of articles of least value; the more costly are stored away in chests and closets. What must it be when all these are brought out, with the immense quantity of precious stones which the church is known to possess?

Churches of Mexico.

This is but one of the churches of Mexico. There are between sixty and eighty others, some of them possessing little less wealth than the cathedral. All the other large cities, such as Puebla, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Durango, San Luis Potosi, have

the "Virgin of Remedios," who enjoys the exclusive right to *three petticoats: one embroidered with pearls, another with emeralds, and a third with diamonds, the value of which is credibly stated at not less than three millions of dollars!*

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each a proportionate number of equally gorgeous establishments. It would be the wildest and most random conjecture to attempt an estimate of the amount of the precious metals thus withdrawn from the useful purposes of the currency of the world, and wasted in these barbaric ornaments, as incompatible with good taste, as they are with the humility, which was the most striking feature in the character of the Founder of our religion.

CHURCHES.

Church ornamentation.

The statues of saints which decorate the churches are arrayed in costumes the most grotesque, stupid, and puerile. Why this bad taste, babyism, and charlatanry?

"There are innumerable crucifixes, large and small, painted in glaring red, so as to represent the hideous spectacle of a man flayed alive, and wearing starched skirts fringed with laces." The Spaniards perpetuate their traditions, by robing Christ in crinoline!

"I have seen," says one writer, "upon an altar in Mexico, two female statues too much 'décolletés,' with a very low bodice of white satin and short skirts, exposing the beautiful limbs. They would be taken for opera danseuses. They represented Saint Gabriel and Saint Michél. I could mention still more singular facts of this kind, in almost all the churches of Mexico, but what good would it do? There will no doubt yet come intelligent Bishops who will no longer permit such a travestie of images that we ought to venerate." "The statues of Christ, of angels and saints, are everywhere, in most ridiculous attire."

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CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH.

Worship and character.

THE deities, the temples, and the worship of a people unerringly indicate the degree of their intelligence, cultivation, and moral sentiment. The character of the PRIESTHOOD who minister at their altars, prescribe the ritual, direct and control the whole economy of service, enjoin every duty of a religious life, still more clearly show the mental and moral condition of their flocks. "Like priests like people."

In this respect, priest and people stand upon the same level, with this difference—*the responsibility rests with the priesthood.* In Mexico, the opportunity and the duty has been theirs, for three hundred years, to educate and elevate the people. They have had the wealth and the power to do it. They have utterly failed to fulfil their mission. Their own deepest condemnation is found in the description, by their own friends, of the ignorance, poverty, and degradation of their flocks. The condition to-day of the poor, oppressed, benighted Indian tribes, is a monument and witness of the infidelity and shame of the priesthood.

The Hon. Waddy Thompson, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, wrote upon this subject as follows:*

Religious ceremonies.

"The things which most strike an American on his first arrival in Mexico, are the processions, ceremonies, and mummeries of the Catholic worship.

*Recollections of Mexico. By Waddy Thompson. N. Y., 1846. Chap. x.

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"The natural proneness of every ignorant people to regard the external symbols and ceremonies of religion, and an incapacity to appreciate its true spirit and sublime truths, give to the Catholic ritual, with all its pomp and circumstance, its pictures, statues, processions, and imposing ceremonial, peculiar power and influence.

Aztec and Spanish idolatry.

"But as to *any rational idea of true religion, or just conception of its divine Author*, the great mass are little more enlightened than were their ancestors in the time of Montezuma. Their religion is very little less an idolatry than that of the grotesque images of stone and clay of which it has taken the place. There is scarcely an hour in the day when the little bells are not heard in the street, announcing that some priest is on his way to administer the sacrament to some one sick or dying. The priest is seated in a coach drawn by two mules, followed by ten or a dozen friars, with lighted wax candles, chanting as they go. The coach is preceded by a man who rings a small bell, to announce the approach of the Host. Every one who happens to be in the street is expected to uncover himself and kneel. The inmates of all the houses on the street do the same thing. Nothing is more common than to hear them exclaim, whenever they hear the bell, 'Dios viene, Dios viene,'—'God is coming, God is coming'—when, whatever they may be doing, they instantly fall on their knees. Until very recently every one was required to kneel, and a very few years since an American shoemaker was murdered in his shop, for refusing to do it. But now they are satisfied if you pull off your hat and stop until the Host passes."

The procession of the "Host."

"What I have described is the visit of the Host to some common person. The procession is more or less numerous, and the person in the coach of

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more or less dignity, from an humble priest to the Archbishop of Mexico, according to the dignity and station of the person visited. Sometimes the procession is accompanied by a large band of music. The visit of the Host to the Senora Santa Anna, in her last illness, was attended by a procession of twenty thousand people, headed by the Archbishop."

"The pomp and pageantry of the ritual as it now exists in Mexico, is revolting in its disgusting mummeries and impostures, which degrade the Christian religion into an absurd, ridiculous, and venal superstition."

Church services.

Lemprière says, "Some kind of religious performances may be witnessed in the principal towns and cities almost daily. You enter a church, and invariably encounter a motley crowd. There is a small sprinkling of well-dressed, well-appearing individuals found in these gatherings; but filth, disease, deformity, brutishness, and abject heathenism are the prevailing characteristics of these assemblages and processions. It is impossible for an individual of respectable education and ordinary delicacy of feeling and moral sense,—whether man or woman,—to join a crowd in one of these *pagodas* or *jos* temples called churches, without feeling ineffable disgust. No one will deny that these structures, especially in the largest cities, evince an imposing and noble order of architecture; and here all that is good, respectable, and decent ends."

Images and decorations.

"The prevailing style of the interior fitting up, is of the tinsel, flash, and tawdry order, interspersed with miserable daubs and images, intending to represent Jesus Christ, Saints, Virgins, and Martyrs. The style of raiment borne by these figures varies from a wisp of cloth, such as is worn by the wild Indians, to that of

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full military, fancy ball dress, or Indian costume,—a mixture to suit vulgar vitiated tastes, and minister to superstitious feelings. This is the interior aspect of the Mexican Church at the present day. Fifty years ago there was in one of the churches in the city of Mexico, an image of the most ghastly and horrid appearance, intended to represent the Saviour. Its eyes were worked by wires, and the large bloodshot balls were made to roll in the most frightful manner whenever it was thought necessary to inspire terror. This hellish contrivance proved too much for the sensibilities of a portion of the worshippers, especially women *enciente*, and of a nervous temperament. Several cases of insanity occurring under its influence, it was finally removed, and now lies, with other rubbish, in an old stone house in the village of Guadalupe, near the capital."

Perversion of Christianity.

"The strange heathen mummery, a species of Nagualism, that passes in Mexico under the name of Christianity, may be accounted for in the fact that the adventurous, conquering Spaniards, superstitious, fanatical, and vicious themselves, encountered in Mexico a superstitious, fanatical, *but comparatively virtuous people.* The Spaniards found the mythological system of the natives all-powerful—paramount, in fact, to everything else, in their social organization. Nevertheless, the fathers of the Catholic Church, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, made light work of *forcing* the masses to undergo the slight formal process considered necessary to release them from what they termed the darkness of paganism, and bring them under the benign, purifying, and revivifying influences of Christianity. But now nearly *three and a half centuries have passed*, and it is found that the Christianity introduced into Mexico

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by the Spaniards, has *adapted itself to the paganism* of the natives, and obliterated their original virtues by *engrafting upon them the worst vices of the conquering race!*"*

Self torture.

"I have seen in the church of San Augustin," says another, "one or two hundred people assembled at night. The chapel was darkened, and they took off their clothes and lacerated themselves severely with pieces of hard-twisted cord, made like a cat-o'-nine-tails. It was not such a flogging as Sancho gave himself to disenchant Dulcinea, but a real *bona-fide* castigation. Of this I have no doubt, for I picked up one of the disciplines, the instrument used, and it was wet and soaked with blood. I stood at the door as the penitents came out, and recognized among them some of the most respectable people in Mexico. No one in his senses can doubt the sincerity of those who will voluntarily inflict such torture upon themselves." †

Adoration of the Virgin.

"One Sabbath day," says a traveller, "I attended the Indian celebration of the appearance of the most blessed Virgin. This was the first time that I had ever seen in a house dedicated to the worship of God, or rather in a temple consecrated to the adoration of the Virgin, fantastic dances performed by Indians under the supervision of priests and bishops. When I found out what the entertainment was, I was heartily vexed that I should be at such a place on the Sabbath day. The dancing and singing was bad enough, but the climax was reached when the priest came down from the altar with an array of attendants bearing immense candles, to the side-door, where the procession stopped to witness the discharge,

* Lemprière's Mexico, 1861–2, p. 103.

† Thompson's Mexico, p. 114.

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at mid-day, of a large amount of fireworks in honor of the most blessed Virgin Mary."

"It is impossible," says Brantz Mayer, in his description of the religious exercises of "Holy Week," in Mexico, "to trace many of the old customs of the church in a country where the ritual is often made up of so many fantastic notions, except by supposing that the idea of the original founders was to attract the Indians, by as many new devices as they could engraft upon their regular services. * * The ritual is neither civilized nor intellectual. The show is tasteless and barbaric. The altars display a jumble of jewelry, sacred vessels, and utensils of the precious metals, mixed up with glass, through which is reflected the tints of colored water, and the whole overlaid with fruits and flowers. It is a mixture of the church and the apothecary shop." *

Street processions.

"The city of Puebla is full of pagodas, full of high officiating Pagans, such as bishops, priests, friars, monks, and Jesuits; full of pictures and images, outside as well as inside the pagodas. The ceremony of taking off hats in the streets of Puebla is carried on to a ludicrous extent. The people take off their hats whenever they meet bishop, padre, monk, friar, or Jesuit; whenever they pass an image, either in paint, plaster, or wax; and whenever the bell indicates that some particular performance is going on in the pagodas. I made a calculation," says an eye-witness, "that a pagan devotee at Puebla, in passing through the streets, takes off his hat to bishop, padre, friar, monk, Jesuit, picture, statue, or bell, on the average of at least once in every two minutes, or thirty times per hour, giving to one whose occupation requires him to be

* Mayer's Mexico, p. 149.

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in the streets, say eight hours per day, two hundred and forty opportunities to uncover." *

Sale of indulgences.

"On a day of religious festival (the anniversary of Saint Francisco,) I have seen," says a traveller, "stuck up on the door of the church of San Francisco, one of the largest and most magnificent in Mexico, a small advertisement of which the following was the substance:

"His Holiness the Pope (and certain bishops which were named) have granted thirty-two thousand three hundred years, ten days, and six hours of indulgence for this mass.

"I do not remember exactly the number of years, days, and hours, but I positively assert that it specified the number of each, and I believe that I have stated them correctly. The manifest object of this minute particularity is, to secure the more effectual belief in the imposture. By thus giving to it the air of a business transaction, a sort of contract is established between the devotee and the Almighty, by his authorized agent and vice-gerent on earth, the Pope,—a contract the more binding in its character, because the receipt of the consideration is acknowledged. I tremble at the apparent blasphemy of even describing such things."

Character of the Church.

"The Mexican church, as a church," says Lemprière, "fills no mission of virtue, no mission of morality, no mission of mercy, no mission of charity. Virtue cannot exist in its pestiferous atmosphere. The code of morality does not come within its practice. It knows no mercy, and no emotion of charity ever nerves the stony heart of that priesthood, which, with an avarice that has no limit, filches the last penny from the diseased

* Dunbar's Mexican Papers.

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and dying beggar; plunders the widows and orphans of their substance, as well as their virtue; and casts such a horoscope of horrors around the death-bed of the dying millionaire, that the poor superstitious wretch is glad to purchase a chance for the safety of his soul, by making THE CHURCH the heir to his treasures."

"I have no hesitation in saying, that the Priests in Mexico are the lowest order of pretended intellectual beings I ever saw; and the stories of their personal conduct will not bear repeating."

The hope of Mexico.

"It is only necessary to point to the universal ruin and misery its rule has brought upon the country and the people. What nation on earth, I ask, could live under such a horrible incubus as this? The Mexican church always has been, and so long as it exists, always will be, the great element of evil in Mexico, and there will be no peace, prosperity, or progress in the country, until this church is overthrown and totally destroyed, root and branch."

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PART IV.

PARTIES AND ACTORS IN THE REVOLUTIONS IN MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

BENITO JUAREZ.

Juarez and his compatriots.

We have now reached a point in the history, in which Benito Juarez appears upon the stage. He has been one of that noble band of Mexican patriots who, in the times in their country that "tried men's souls," have stood faithful to the principles of freedom. Whatever may be the final issue of their conflict, posterity will enrol their names among the liberators and benefactors of their country and of mankind.

The true character of Juarez cannot be understood or appreciated until the history of Mexico, in this its second war of independence, shall have recorded the principles and acts of his life and administration. He has been so intimately associated with the principal actors in the scenes of the last forty years, and has been so identified with all the great decisive issues and events, that a sketch of his life is almost indispensable to a correct understanding of the conflict, and must introduce to our view his noble compatriots, perhaps not less illustrious, but less known. He seems to have been raised up, like Washington, for the part devolved upon him in the great struggle, the life-throes of his country. The condition of Mexico, his personal virtues, his persistent devotion to the

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welfare and honor of his countrymen, and his unwavering fidelity to the great ideas and fundamental principles of republicanism, and of the "inalienable rights" of man, have fixed all eyes in North and South America, and in Europe, upon him. A better knowledge of his life and character, acts and aims, will draw more closely the bonds of sympathy and friendship that should exist between the Republic of the United States and that of Mexico, and indeed among the whole family of American Republics.

The following biographical sketch is substantially a translation of a Spanish work published in 1866. There has been some re-arrangement of the material and modification of forms of expression, for the sake of brevity and perspicuity in a translation from another language. The facts are a faithful transcript of the original. An account of its origin, and an authentic verification of its correctness and reliability, will appear at the close.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE OF JUAREZ—1806–1819.

Birth and early life.

BENITO JUAREZ, a pure descendant of the Zapoteca native stock, was born in the small village of San Pablo Guelatao, in the state of Oajaca, on the 21st of March, 1806.

The following statements respecting his history are "verified by one who was born in the same State, lived for some years in the same place, pursued his studies for the legal profession in the same school where Juarez was professor; and was also his fellow traveller from January, 1857, to December, 1859—one who has been an eye-witness of many of the most important incidents in his life, and has full knowledge of the others here recorded, and has had every opportunity to understand and appreciate his character, aspirations, and aims."

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His Baptism.

The "Book of Baptisms" of the parish church of Santo Thomas Ixtlan contains the record of the baptism in due form of law, of Benito Pablo, son of Marcellino Juarez and Brigida Garcia; together with the names of his paternal ancestors, Pedro Juarez and Justa Lopez; his maternal ancestors, Pablo Garcia and Maria Garcia; and his god-mother on the occasion, Francesca Garcia, "she being duly informed of her obligations and spiritual parentage."

His Parentage.

The parents of Benito were in humble life, possessing the simple habits and slender means of the peasants and herdsmen of his native village, and were quite unable to educate their son. He lived at home until the death of his father, which occurred at a very early age. He was then taken under the care of an uncle, with whom he remained until twelve years of age, when he could neither read, write, nor speak the Spanish language correctly.

Early youth.

Many of the youth in the mountains of Oajaca had been accustomed to find their way, in various capacities, to the city of Oajaca, and to engage in offices of domestic service, in return for their support and the privileges of elementary education. Young Benito had long been impressed with the superior advantages and prospects thus secured by many of his acquaintances, poorer even than himself; and finally, in 1818, resolved to follow their example. Animated by the spirit and nerved by the energy which has shaped his whole subsequent life, he decided to leave his uncle and seek an education in the city. He was received, at first, by a sister residing there; but soon found a situation, under the care and instruction of Don Joaquin Salaneuva, a gentleman engaged in some ecclesiastical duties, with which he com-

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bined the work of education. With him young Juarez learned to read and to write, and the first rudiments of arithmetic and of Spanish grammar.

HIS ACADEMIC EDUCATION—1819–1826.

Early education.

The instructions, example, and influence of Señor Salaneuva, during the preliminary education of his pupil, established him in firm principles of morality and virtue, and have developed a character that has made the name of Juarez, a proverbial synonym for honesty.

At this age Señor Salaneuva took care to place him as a day-scholar at the ecclesiastical seminary, the only establishment for higher education in Oajaca. In 1819 he began the study of the Latin language; and in 1822, a course of philosophy, completing both in 1825. The successive examinations which he passed during this period, gave marked indications of his intelligence and proficiency.

HIS PROFESSIONAL STUDIES—A THEOLOGICAL COURSE—1826.

Professional studies.

The time having arrived for entering upon the study of special science, Señor Salaneuva, supremely devoted to his own peculiar views, determined that young Juarez should adopt an ecclesiastical career. He was therefore required, during the year 1826, to apply himself to the study of Theology, with two of his companions, Don Isadora Sanchez and Don Francisco Parra, both of whom were subsequently duly ordained, and became curates in the Diocese of Oajaca. Thus the foundation of the professional studies of Juarez, and of his mental training in the higher life of a scholar, was laid in the study of Theology at the first seminary of his native State.

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His study of Law.

In order to understand the considerations and influences which led Juarez to change his profession, to enter upon the study of Law, and to give another direction to the current of his life, it is necessary to consider the condition and circumstances of Mexico and of Mexican institutions at the time.

For more than 350 years, his native land, and his own people, a wronged and injured race, had been bleeding under "the iron heel," subject to as absolute and inexorable a despotism, political, ecclesiastical, and social, as any portion of this world has ever suffered. A score of the best historians of Christendom attest this. The whole constitution and fabric of society had been shaped and molded by ten generations of oppressors.

Affairs in Mexico.

The state of all political, civil, and ecclesiastical affairs in Mexico, consolidated by successive administrations since the conquest into a gigantic system of oppression, gave rise, at the date of independence in 1821, to two great parties of totally different principles and interests. The one representing the monarchical, ecclesiastical, aristocratic, and despotic elements, which, though broken off from the mother country and transplanted in Mexican soil, were no less determined and exacting in their assumptions and claims. The other representing the party of "equal rights for all men," of universal freedom in the exercise of "man's inalienable rights;" the party of human "progress," of the "reform of abuses," of "freedom of conscience, of opinion, of speech, of worship, of the press;" the party, also, of "universal education."

The conflict of ages.

The same conflict which for generations had convulsed the States of Europe was repeating itself in the independent colonies of Spain, on a smaller

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scale it is true, but intensified to an appalling degree by the very helplessness of one party, and the irresistible and relentless power of the other. The almost incredible ignorance, superstition, mummeries, and inquisitorial oppression of the dominant party "fired the Mexican heart."

A band of patriots arose, like the fathers of our Republic, resolved, under the pledge of "life, fortune, and sacred honor," to resist a despotism that had become absolutely intolerable, and to assert and maintain the "inalienable rights" of Mexicans.

This conflict entered into all the ramifications of Mexican society, but was particularly intense and violent among the more intelligent and cultivated classes.

Young Juarez was among the first to take ground, define his position, declare his choice, and begin an independent career.

The Seminary of Oajaca.

The Ecclesiastical Seminary of Oajaca was the right arm of the clerical and monarchical party. M. Ramirez, its director, belonged to an aristocratic family, was Prebendary of the cathedral, and from his social position and energy of character was a prominent leader. In his hands the seminary was forming the principles of the most select and promising youth of the State, who were preparing for the profession of Law—a profession which then demanded large accessions to meet the business wants of the country, in consequence of its independence.

There were only three universities, that of Mexico, of Guadalajara, and of Yucatan, where students could pursue this study; and an effort was made to engraft upon the Ecclesiastical Seminary of Oajaca, a professorship of Law, to accommodate the students of the State. The plan, however, met with such determined opposition from the

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Principal of the seminary, M. Ramirez, that the only resource was the establishment of private Law Schools, at the houses of eminent members of the profession.

The Institute of Oajaca.

In 1826, the Legislature of the State established the "Institute of Arts and Sciences of Oajaca." The clerical party immediately declared war upon it, and the two institutions, the "Seminary" and the "Institute," soon became respectively, the exponents and defenders of the principles of the two great parties.

The Legislature had appointed to the head of the "Institute," a Dominician Friar, the Reverend Doctor and Father, Francisco Aparaco, a man of great ability and a warm friend of the rising generation. Notwithstanding his ecclesiastical associations, he was far in advance of his order and the times, in enlightened and liberal views. Sustained by the Government and citizens of influence, he maintained the cause of the Institute in the party contest which ensued between the two literary establishments.

The Clergy and the Seminary.

The clergy, in a body, as a matter of course, took sides with the "Seminary," and denounced the "Institute" as a focus of revolution and heresy. The "Institute" sought to win, and did win, the most intelligent of the students of the "Seminary," by presenting at their public examinations, all the magnificent panorama of modern culture, and emulated the highest attainments of the age in every possible way. The liberal and generous ideas of modern civilization began to penetrate within the walls of the "Seminary." Its most distinguished members and alumni began to perceive a more extended and beautiful horizon of professional aims and national aspirations, than the narrow, exclusive, and intolerant policy of the clergy would permit. Students began to

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abandon the Seminary, and were received with open arms within the walls of the Institute.

Among the first of these was the intimate friend of Benito Juarez, Don Miguel Mendez, a bright and promising youth of pure Indian race, of talent and character excelling all his companions, and whose friendship and early death made a profound impression upon Juarez. A friendship thus formed and broken, and the influence of other companions who passed from the Seminary to the Institute, embracing the modern principles of reform, had doubtless much to do with the determination of Juarez to renounce the ecclesiastical, and enter upon a legal and national career.

HIS COURSE IN THE STUDY AND IN THE PROFESSION OF LAW—1827–8.

Juarez a student at Law.

JUAREZ having entered upon the study of law, pursued the various courses with unremitting application. In 1829 he filled the chair of Natural Philosophy in the Institute. In 1832, having passed the required examination, he received the diploma of Bachelor-in-Law; and on the 13th of January, 1834, after passing all the prescribed examinations, he received the title of "Attorney of the Courts of the Republic."

The two literary establishments of Oajaca had now become the centres of the controlling political parties of the Nation—the Seminary, that of the "old regime;" and the Institute, that of the radical, liberal party.

His principles and his career.

It has been said of Benito Juarez, that in entering upon his professional life under such conditions, in his native State and country, he began his career by forming a proper estimate of his own abilities, by establishing firm convictions of individual rights and of national policy, and that through all his subsequent

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course he has never swerved from his convictions, nor abandoned the principles of the liberal party.

The general elections of 1828 were, in Oajaca, as also throughout the Republic, the most warmly contested of those that have ever been held in the country. Pedraza and Guerrero were the contending candidates for the Presidency; the former, the leader of the moderate party, and the latter, the candidate of the most radical, liberal party.

The whole of the Iturbide party, and the conservatives generally united in the support of Pedraza, for although he did not agree with their views, they deemed it necessary to triumph over Guerrero. The contest was a terrible one, and in Oajaca, in order to defeat the liberal party, the authorities terminated it by force of arms. The Institute took a very active part in this contest, as did also Juarez, one of its alumni. The part he took in this canvass has been styled his "political baptism."

Shortly after this, in 1831, JUAREZ was popularly elected an Alderman of the City Council of Oajaca, and in 1832, a Deputy to the Legislature of the State, which held its sessions in 1833 and 1834.

In 1836, he was imprisoned for some months, on suspicion of complicity with the unsuccessful revolution inaugurated in that year, for the overthrow of the conservative party, which had been in power since 1831.

Treasury Judge and Secretary of State.

In 1842, he was appointed Civil Judge in the Treasury for three years. In 1845, General Leon, having effected a compromise with the liberal party, which had nearly triumphed in the revolution of Dec. 6th, 1844, appointed Juarez Secretary of State of the State of Oajaca. But the despotic ideas and acts of Leon could not harmonize with the liberal principles of Juarez, and he remained in this office but a few months. He was then appointed

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State Attorney for the Superior Court of Justice, a position which he occupied until the imperious plan of General Paredes was inaugurated, at the close of 1845.

The Revolution of 1846.

While these events were transpiring in the capital, and in other parts of the country, another revolution took place, and in August, 1846, was successful. Oajaca, the native state of Juarez, ever loyal to republicanism, declared, in view of the conspiracy and monarchical scheme inaugurated by Paredes and the Church party, that it was a necessity for the State to reassume its sovereignty. An assembly of "notables" was summoned, entitled the "Legislative Assembly," which placed the executive power of the state in the hands of a triumvirate, composed of Señors Fernandez del Campo, Arteaga, and Juarez.

Rising influence of Juarez.

From this time public attention was strongly directed to the rising character of Juarez. The first of the triumvirates had belonged successively to all the parties. Juarez had ever shown that strength of character, soundness of judgment, tact in decisions, firmness of political principles, and more than all, honesty above reproach, that the times demanded. It was becoming manifest that he was a man marked out for the service of his people and his country.

The Triumvirate.

The administration of the triumvirate was of short duration. The Legislative Assembly the same month, August, 1846, decreed that the State of Oajaca should be governed by the Federal Constitution of 1824. In accordance therewith, an election for Governor was held, which resulted in favor of Arteaga. Shortly after this, Juarez was elected by the people a Deputy to the General Constituent Congress, to assemble at the capital of the Republic in December, 1846.

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THE CONGRESS OF DECEMBER, 1846.

War with the United States.

On the 6th December, 1846, the new, sovereign constituent Congress of the nation assembled in the Capital. It was both a constituent and a legislative body. The first and all-absorbing business was, to procure resources to carry on the war, then pending with the United States. General Santa Anna, the President elect of the Republic, was absent in the field, at Angostura, contending with the forces of the Americans. The citizen, Valentin Gomez Farias, filled the presidential chair. He was one of the earliest, most constant, and time-honored liberal-reformists which the country had known. He brought forward in the Chamber of Deputies, as the only means of supplying the indispensable necessities of the nation, the bill for a loan of fourteen millions of dollars, to be raised upon the property of the clergy, and, in the event of the impossibility of the negotiation of a loan, then the sale of said property, until the requisite amount should be obtained.

Parties in Congress.

There were three parties in the Congress. 1. That of the "old regime," the clerical and monarchical interest, a small minority headed by Otero. 2. The radical republican party, with Rejon, Ramirez, and Juarez as their leaders. 3. The moderates, who were well and strongly represented. But they united with the "old regime," in contending against the radical party and the new measure sustained by Farias. The monarchists and the moderates fiercely attacked the law. The republicans sustained it, as a necessity. After a masterly and brilliant discussion, long to be remembered in the annals of Mexico, the bill passed by a small majority. The power and eloquence with which Rejon, Ramirez, and

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Juarez supported the measure, it has been said, would have attracted universal attention, had not the echoes of their thrilling and patriotic appeals, been silenced by the thunders of foreign guns, reverberating along the shores of both the Gulf and of the Pacific.

The Clergy.

The clergy and the party of the "old regime," having failed in their opposition to the law in Congress, caused "*pronunciamentos*" against it to be made throughout the land; and even in the very capital itself one occurred which was named that of the "Polk party."

These insurrections terminated only upon the return of Santa Anna, who at once compromised with the "church party," the same body of men that shortly afterwards received the foreign invaders at Puebla with all the pomp and ceremony of ecclesiastical welcome.

Santa Anna's Dictation.

Congress, not long after, issued its act for the reform of the Constitution of 1824. General Santa Anna then dissolved the Congress, and prohibited all resources to its members. The revolutionary clergy had seized upon all the public offices in Oajaca as early as February 15th, 1847. Juarez and his friends had received orders to re-establish the lawful authorities there, but through various pretexts these had all been frustrated.

Revolution in Oajaca.

On the 23d of October, 1847, Juarez having arrived in Oajaca, a local revolution took place, and the lawful order of things was finally re-established. The first step of the Legislature was to accept the resignation of Arteaga, which he had tendered in anticipation; and Juarez, in his stead, was appointed Constitutional Governor of the State. He entered upon his administration in November, 1847, and continued until the expira-

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tion of the term for which Arteaga had been elected, August 12th, 1849. Juarez was then re-elected Governor for the term of three years, until August 12th, 1852. He then retired from this position, the laws of the State not admitting a re-election, which he would otherwise doubtless have received.

JUAREZ GOVERNOR OF OAJACA.—1847.

Governor of Oajaca.

During these five years of his Governorship, Juarez began to acquire the reputation of a remarkable man, and became known throughout the whole Republic. The State of Oajaca, during the civil commotions of the country, had shared the same fate as the rest of the nation. There was no administration of justice; there were no soldiers; there was no treasury; and in the midst of this state of chaos, the confusion was increased by the loss the State had suffered on the 8th of September, 1847. The brave General Leon and his division had been defeated in the battle of Molino del Rey, fought against the Americans on that day.

Energy of Governor Juarez.

Governor Juarez began immediately to retrieve the disasters, and determined, together with his fellow-citizens of Oajaca, to continue the war. He set up a foundry, which in a short time produced a battery and the necessary munitions.

About the same time General Santa Anna appeared on the frontiers of the State, and under the pretext that he would continue the war against the United States, demanded that the command should be delivered to him.* He had just abandoned the command of the army which he had so badly directed. He had, in fact, abandoned the

* See a correction of this statement in the letter of President Juarez, page 158.

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Presidency. The entire nation had accused him, to say the least, of incapacity, and the State of Oajaca could do no less than to forbid his entrance within its territory. Governor Juarez carried this into execution, and thus gave occasion for that deep, implacable hatred which Santa Anna has harbored towards him ever since. Subsequently to these events, the moderate party brought about a peace with the United States, and Juarez at once applied himself to the interior re-organization of his native State.

Official acts of Juarez.

During the five years of his gubernatorial term, all the different branches of the government were subject to his watchful attention and care. Every department was either re-organized, or reformed and ameliorated. By his systematic and energetic measures, the contingent required by the federal government from the State of Oajaca, was always paid with punctuality; the civil and military disbursements were invariably met; and the State debt, which for eighteen years had been considerably increased, was completely settled and extinguished. On his retirement from the office, he left a balance of fifty thousand dollars in cash in the treasury of the State. By such results of this administration, Governor Juarez acquired a high reputation, and became known throughout the nation; and Oajaca received the well-merited appellation of the model State of the Republic.

JUAREZ IN PRIVATE LIFE.—1852.

Retirement of Juarez.

On his withdrawal from office, in August, 1852, Juarez resumed the duties of a private citizen, with the single honorary employment of Director of the Institute of Sciences. He immediately opened his office, and commenced the practice of law for his support, being then as poor, as modest, and as honored as when, five

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years before, he had entered upon the discharge of the duties of the highest office of the State. He was, however, to enjoy this repose but a few months.

Plan of Guadalajara.

The revolution, known by the name of the "Plan of Guadalajara," was successful in the Capital of the Republic in January, 1853; and in February following triumphed in Oajaca. General Santa Anna, having been recalled by the revolutionists, arrived at the City of Mexico in the month of April. A few days after, he directed that Juarez should be torn from his domicil. On the 30th of May, 1853, Juarez was at Etta, a town some four leagues from Oajaca, on the road to the City of Mexico. While engaged in the very act of pleading as an advocate, before the Court of that place, he was seized as a prisoner, and without being permitted even to take leave of his family, was hurried to Puebla, and finally from thence sent to be imprisoned at Jalapa.

Juarez a prisoner.

A few months afterwards he was ordered to change his residence, and notified to proceed to Huamantla. He set out at once, and arrived at Puebla. On the following night, while paying a visit at the house of a friend, he was forcibly seized by the son of Santa Anna (Joseph,) thrust into a carriage, and without being permitted to take any baggage or money, or to have any communication with any one, was driven sixty leagues, and finally set down on the wharf at Vera Cruz. Thence he was transferred to a filthy prison-cell in the castle of San Juan de Uloa.

Juarez in exile.

Three or four days afterwards he was shipped on board a British steam-packet. His passage was not paid, and he was not permitted to procure for himself the indispensable means for an indefinite voyage to some foreign land. He found, however, on board the

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packet, some friends not unmindful of his distresses, and some means which, though scanty, were sufficient to enable him to defray his expenses to the city of Havana, and from thence to New Orleans.

In this city he was enabled to maintain himself, with such means as his wife could transmit to him, sacrificing in her devotion, her patrimonial estate. In July, 1855, he left New Orleans, embarked for the Isthmus, crossed at Panama, and landed at Acapulco. Here he joined General Alvarez, who commanded in chief the forces gathered to defend the "Plan of Ayutla" as against Santa Anna. In the month of August following the revolution proved a complete success. Santa Anna was overthrown, and escaped to a foreign clime. General Alvarez was proclaimed the President of the Republic on the 4th of October, 1855, and immediately appointed Juarez as his Minister of Justice and ecclesiastical affairs.

JUAREZ MINISTER OF JUSTICE—1855.

Revolution of Ayutla.

The revolution of Ayutla had assumed throughout the Republic a character which looked to radical reforms in the government; because the clergy in this contest had made every possible effort to uphold the detested dictatorship of Santa Anna. The feeling of the entire nation on the subject was deep and strong. The revolution had been successful, but the government found itself face to face with an army which, although demoralized by the state of dissolution in which its leader had left it, was still sufficiently to be feared to prevent the liberal party from feeling itself secure.

The Cabinet.

From the formation of the cabinet, it was apparent that its existence could not be of long duration. It was composed of elements too heterogeneous

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in themselves. In the person of General Comonfort himself, there was an insuperable obstacle—Comonfort, whose activity and prestige had been principally instrumental in successfully maintaining the "Plan of Ayutla." But in character, and in political opinions, he was of the *moderate* party, and by nature and position opposed to the full development of the programme of the *liberal* party.

The Patriot Alvarez.

The advanced age of the well-deserving General Alvarez, rendered it impossible that he should possess the necessary energy to decide between the powerful and opposing influences of Comonfort and Juarez, and those of Ocampo and Lafragua.

Comonfort wished to keep up the army, with such changes as he might himself adopt. Juarez and Ocampo desired to do away with the army. They sought "*the government of the people, by the people, for the people.*" Under these circumstances, it was almost impossible to bring about any measure favorable to the liberal party without using some stratagem. Juarez understood the situation, and prevailed upon President Alvarez, during the absence of Comonfort for two or three days from the capital, to sanction the famous Law of the 22d of November, 1859, "*for the Administration of Justice,*" now known as "*The Law of Juarez.*"*

The Law of Juarez.

This law embodied great reforms in the administration of justice. But it did not, in these respects, attract attention. The opposition it awakened arose from the fact that *it suppressed the privileged and especial tribunals and charters of the clergy and the army.* It was a terrible blow to the retrograde party, which had

* See a correction of this statement, in the letter of President Juarez, page 157.

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hitherto been upheld by the support of these two powerful engines. Their force was now to a certain extent broken. A mighty power was deprived of the ægis, behind which they took shelter in order to evade the "laws of the nation."

Popular approval.

"The Juarez Law" met the approval of an immense majority in the Republic. But the conservative party became pledged for its overthrow. Comonfort, displeased with the Law and its author, did what he could to defeat it. He entered into a compromise with the enemies of the Government, "the old party," and availed himself of, if he did not directly promote, various military revolts which broke out on the promulgation of the Law; and caused the venerable Alvarez to sign his own abdication of the high position he held, and to nominate Comonfort himself as his successor, President substitute of the nation.

The Law of Justice.

The "Law of Justice," however, continued in force, because, on the one hand, Comonfort did not dare at once to revoke it; and on the other, the Constituent Congress shortly after gave it sanction.

Juarez, as would naturally be supposed, was not retained as Minister of Justice. Comonfort appointed him to the Governorship of the State of Oajaca, for which he at once set out, to quell military outbreaks then occurring at the capital. On his arrival, however, he found order re-established, and immediately set about the restoration of the public administration.

JUAREZ A THIRD TIME GOVERNOR OF OAJACA.

Juarez thrice Governor.

This administration of Juarez was even of more substantial benefit to the State than that of his previous terms. He developed more fully the ap-

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plication of the Democratic system throughout the State, reformed and ameliorated the system of public instruction, and re-established again the Institute of Sciences, which Santa Anna had overthrown. Through the influence he possessed over the Constituent Legislature, he caused it to adopt, in the Constitution of the State, a broader municipal system, and also *the principle of the direct suffrage of all the citizens in the election of their Governor.* He re-organized the administrations of the Treasury and of Justice, secured the due sanction of the civil and criminal codes of laws, and restored with energy and courage, with tact and prudence, civil order, which had been twice disturbed at Ixcapa and Tehuantepec.

Popular vote.

In the month of September, 1857, he was elected constitutional Governor of the State of Oajaca, by a direct vote of 112,000 of its inhabitants; and by a large majority of the entire Republic, he was elected President of the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation.

In the month of October, 1857, following, public opinion and the entire liberal press of the country compelled Comonfort to call him to the position of Minister of Government. He entered upon his duties in the month of November. Shortly after, he appeared before Congress to ask extraordinary powers for the Executive. The liberal party had never had confidence in the liberal tendencies of Comonfort, and at this juncture it was announced and considered certain that he meditated a "coup d'état." There was, therefore, a decided opposition in Congress to the project of granting the extraordinary powers solicited, and it was openly said, during the discussion, that they were finally granted *only because of the confidence which the presence of Juarez in the Cabinet had inspired.*

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Defection of Zuloaga.

The deputies had good reason indeed for their distrust, as the result proved. General Zuloaga, a personal friend of Comonfort, having been bought over by the clergy, with the consent of the President, pronounced against the Government on the 17th December, 1857. Comonfort himself appeared at the head of the revolt. Juarez, as soon as he heard of this defection, repaired immediately to the palace, in order to persuade Comonfort not to accept the *pronunciamento*, thus fulfilling to the last moment his duties as a Minister. Two days after, Comonfort openly adhered to the revolt, ordered Juarez to be apprehended, retained him a close prisoner in the palace, and dissolved the Congress.

The reward of treachery.

After he had placed all the resources and means of defence of the Government at the disposal of the insurgents, and proved himself faithless alike to his duties and oaths, Comonfort in his turn found that the rebels were unfaithful to him. He was unrecognized by them: they placed no confidence in him. But it was now too late to retrace his steps. In this state of despair he believed he would greatly damage the cause of the insurgents by restoring Juarez to liberty, in order that he might assume the direction of the National Government. Juarez, once free, in the midst of a thousand personal dangers, resolved upon the acceptance of the situation which Comonfort abandoned, by his flight to a foreign land.

"THE LAW OF JUAREZ" AND "THE CHURCH PARTY"—1857.

Era in the life of Juarez.

From this period the incidents in the life of Juarez are so interwoven and connected with the whole course of events in the country, that in order to follow him through his various vicissitudes, and to un-

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derstand his character and course, it is almost necessary to narrate the history of Mexico during the past eight years. But the limits of this brief memoir require as close confinement as possible to the simple object it has in view—the personal history of Juarez. It is, however, necessary to retrace our steps a little, and recall certain events which concern the narrative.

Defection of Comonfort.

The revolution brought about by the defection of Don Ignacio Comonfort had its origin in causes of previous years. On the termination of the revolution of Ayutla, the liberal party saw it was necessary to make radical work of the reformation throughout the country; to continue the contest until the party of the "old regime" should be overcome. For otherwise the nation could not exist, much less establish those principles of its political faith, which are now recognized and maintained among the most enlightened nations.

The Reform Laws.

The reformation being initiated through the "Law of Juarez," the contest waxed warm and obstinate. The Clerical party, on the one side, promoted and sustained the first revolution in Puebla, which Comonfort in person overcame at the battle of Ocotlan. The constituent Congress, on the other hand, opened its sessions on the 1st of February, 1856. The elections had resulted as was anticipated, from the full and liberal call of Ocampo issued on the 17th of October previous. All the representatives of the people belonged to the liberal party, with here and there a few not very prominent or influential conservatives. The majority of the deputies belonged to the radical liberal party, and the rest to the moderate party.

Action of Congress.

The Congress without delay sanctioned the "Juarez Law;" and shortly after took up the

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subject of the *suppression of the order of the Jesuits*, and the *confiscation of their property*. The clergy persisted in their machinations, and brought about the second revolution in Puebla, which was also suppressed.

The Church Property.

The unfortunate but well-deserving Miguel Lerdi de Tejada about this time came into the cabinet as Minister of the Treasury. He proposed to Comonfort the issuing of the law for the *nationalization of the property of the clergy*. Comonfort and his Cabinet opposed it. The Minister was compelled to adopt a middle course. A compromise was accepted through the law of June 25, 1856, abolishing the transfer of mortmain estates. This law was not wholly acceptable to the liberal party, as evidenced by the discussion in Congress on the subject. It was, however, accepted as a reform,—the only one which could then be obtained from the moderate Cabinet.

Religious freedom.

On the 29th July following, Congress began the discussion of the famous Article XV., amending the Constitution, *which established the absolute freedom of all religious creeds*. The seed which Juarez had sown in his Law of Justice proved fruitful. The discussion was lucid, but very bitter; and the nation would have attained at once *the establishment of this first principle* of freedom to man, if the Government of Comonfort had not made so strong and stubborn an opposition to the liberal party and its measures. They persuaded, during the Congress, many of the deputies who were undoubtedly reformists, as they afterwards proved to be, to vote contrary to their convictions, by working upon the fears which the government itself had instilled into their minds.

Opposition of the Clergy.

The Constitution, however, was adopted Feb. 8, 1857. The clergy, beaten on the fields of bat-

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tle and foiled in Congress, and having only a few armed partisans lurking hither and thither in their cause, did not entirely despair. They began to place obstacles in the way of the administration of Comonfort,—first with reference to the question of taking the oath to the Constitution, and next through *their refusal to administer the sacrament.*

But Comonfort had no faith in the cause he was bound to sustain; he hated the liberal party, which was his only support; he vacillated, doubted, and was frightened; he abandoned the radical liberal party, and fell from the high position he occupied, causing great injury not only to the liberal party, but to the nationality of Mexico.

It was a complete coup-de-theatre—a most rapid shifting of the scenes. All the machinery of Government was made over to the party of the "old regime"—men, arms, money, all placed in their hands. In fact, the Capital of the Republic was in their possession. Shortly after, they obtained the recognition of all the governments who had been on friendly relations with Mexico, and who are now to interpose in their favor.

Juarez and the People.

At this juncture, Juarez accepted the situation which Comonfort abandoned. Comonfort relied upon the resources of the country; Juarez had them all against him. Comonfort relied upon the clerical party; Juarez put his faith in *the people.* The people sustained him.

Almost all the States entered into coalitions ignoring the Government of the city of Mexico. They began to raise and organize forces everywhere, in order to resist the "old regime," lording it at the Capital.

Juarez at Guanajuato.

On the 19th of January, 1858, Juarez arrived at Guanajuato; issued his manifesto; appointed his cabinet; and was recognized as President of the Re-

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public by all the States. The circumstances of the campaign obliged Juarez to abandon Guanajuato. On the 15th of February, 1858, he arrived with his ministers and employés at Guadalajara. He had scarcely arrived there, when he was informed of the defeat of the Constitutional army at Salamanca, on the 10th of March.

Betrayal and seizure of Juarez.

The garrison of Guadalajara, under the command of General Nuñez, had already been corrupted. Lieut.-Colonel Landa, commanding the 5th Infantry, who had been left with that portion of the corps at Guadalajara, as a guard to the President, pronounced in favor of the "old regime." General Nuñez repaired to the quarters of the insurgents, and was there received with a discharge of small arms and made prisoner. The very guard of Juarez seized him, his ministers, and some others of his employés, and held them all as prisoners in the palace of the Government. They were all threatened with death. Juarez especially was given to understand that he would be shot, as the only obstacle to the success of the "old regime."

Fidelity of Alvarez.

A small squad of the 1st Cavalry, under the command of Don Antonio Alvarez, the national guard, and the people voluntarily rising, made up their minds to defend the Government, and to attack vigorously the insurgents at the different points held by them, and particularly the palace, where Juarez and all the prisoners were confined. They suffered all the torments of such a situation, guarded with the utmost vigor, and constantly threatened with instant death. Such an end was indeed more than probable, in view of the confusion and demoralization to which the pending conflict of arms was reducing the insurgents.

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Peril of the prisoners.

When a column of the national guard under the command of Don Miguel Cruz Aedo, on their errand of liberation for the prisoners, had reached the principal square, and was about to enter the palace, the insurgents believed they were already defeated. An officer named Peraza, who commanded the guard, ordered them to enter the room where the prisoners were confined. The platoon of some twenty soldiers were drawn up, their pieces cocked and levelled at the group of prisoners. The room in which these scenes were enacted, had two others adjoining, one on either side. In these the greater part of the prisoners took refuge, seeing they were about to be barbarously murdered. For some reason, the soldiers did not fire, perhaps because the act seemed to them horrible and inhuman, or because they were dissuaded from it by Don Guillermo Prieto, who at the most imminent moment of danger addressed to them a feeling remonstrance; or because, as is more probable, it appeared to Peraza that the best guarantee of his own life, in any event, was the preservation of that of these prisoners. He left the main room and drew up the file of soldiers in the entry of the building, until Cruz Aedo had retired from the main square.

Landa and Morett.

At another critical moment of this conflict, two other leaders of this rebellion, Landa and Morett, attempted to obtain an order from Juarez for the suspension of the firing of the loyal forces upon the insurgents. Juarez with great coolness replied, that as he was a prisoner he could give no orders. It was intimated to him that his life was at stake. He answered, that "the life of an individual was of no moment when the fate and interests of a whole people were in jeopardy." The personal security of the insurgents was, without doubt, the

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only reason which prevented Juarez and the leaders among his companions from being sacrificed on this occasion.

Parrodi and Degollado.

While these events were occurring, the remnants of the federal army, having been defeated at Salamanca, were retiring upon Guadalajara, under Parrodi and Don Santos Degollado. Osollo, the commander of the insurgent forces, was in pursuit of them, and two days distant on the march. It was certain that Degollado and Parrodi would reach Guadalajara before Osollo, and in that event Landa and Morett would be attacked by very superior forces which would easily destroy them. Knowing their precarious situation, they determined to capitulate with the forces in the city, and the authorities of the State of Jalisco.

Release of Juarez.

In the agreement entered into, it was stipulated that Juarez and the other political prisoners should be set at liberty; that Landa and the insurgents should leave the city of Guadalajara and retire in whatever direction they might elect, beyond a distance of ten leagues, without being molested during their evacuation. In virtue of this capitulation, Juarez was transferred, not without risk, from the palace of Guadalajara to the house of the French Consul, where he remained until after the departure of Landa.

Parrodi Minister of War.

General Parrodi arrived shortly afterwards, with what remained to him of his army. Juarez named him Minister of War and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army, and committed to him the defence of Guadalajara. Parrodi immediately decided that the Government should not expose itself to the hazards of war, and should be placed in a position of the greatest possible security. Juarez, therefore, decided to retire from Guadalajara with the remainder of his force.

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Col. Rocha. The Body Guard.

Colonel Rocha was sent with the 5th Infantry on the road which Juarez was to take, with the view of protecting him from Landa and the insurgents. On the 20th of March, Juarez, with his Ministers and a few employés, commenced their journey towards Colima, escorted by sixty men from the police battalion of Mexico, and thirty cavalry under the command of Colonel Don Francisco Iniestra.

Landa and his force.

Juarez and his party had travelled their first journey, and had just taken up their lodgings in the Tresor of Santa-Aña Acotlan, a town some twelve leagues to the southward of Guadalajara, when Landa with six hundred men and two pieces of artillery presented himself.

Magnanimity of Juarez.

In these critical circumstances a cabinet meeting was called, and Juarez proposed to his companions to deliver himself up, that thus they might be saved. This generous proposal was rejected by all, and a defence was decided upon. Iniestra ordered the church in front of the Tresor, and a house near by, to be occupied. At 4 o'clock in the evening the firing commenced. Three times Landa attempted to assault the Tresor, and was as often repulsed. During one of these assaults it seemed almost certain that the place would be taken, and several of the civil employés were preparing to escape by a back entrance of the Tresor. Rocha was at a great distance from Santa-Aña Acotlan with his force, and could render no positive assistance. Captain Don Leandro Valle, acting Adjutant to Colonel Iniestra, behaved with great coolness and bravery during the engagement. *

* See the correct account of these transactions, in the letter of President Juarez, page 160.

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Osollo.

At 8 o'clock P. M. the firing ceased. It was not known whether the insurgents had abandoned the field or still held their positions. Osollo was on that day seven leagues distant from Guadalajara, and could have detached a column of cavalry, which would have arrived just in time to insure the success of Landa.

The midnight retreat.

In the midst of such dangers, it was necessary to risk everything. It was determined to attempt a retreat. This was undertaken at midnight, with the expectation at every step of meeting the enemy, and the determination at all hazards to break through their lines. Whether the movement was not perceived by the enemy, or whether he had withdrawn, or, as is more probable, had feared the approach of Rocha, the result was that the retreat was effected without molestation or misfortune.

Juarez at Sayula.

On the 23d of March, 1858, Juarez arrived at Sayula, where he met Rocha with his command. The day following he arrived at Zapotlan, and shortly after at Colima, learning on the way that Parrodi had capitulated at Guadalajara without fighting.

Degollado Minister of War.

At Colima, Juarez appointed Don Santos Degollado (hitherto Minister of Government), Minister of War and of the Navy, and General-in-Chief of the Federal Army—an army yet to be raised. He gave him ample powers over the Department of War and of the Treasury, to the end that he might continue the war in the Western and Northern States.

Juarez himself determined to proceed to Vera Cruz, to establish his government there—a post of primary importance in the Republic, and where his influence could be more readily and extensively exerted.

Juarez and Cabinet.

On the 14th of April, 1858, Juarez embarked at Manzanillo on board the steamer "John L.

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Stephens," of the Panama and San Francisco line, with his cabinet, composed of Señores Ocampo, Ruiz, Prieto, and Guzman. The next day the steamer touched at Acapulco, where Juarez landed for the purpose of conferring with General Alvarez, who, however, being absent in the province, was not seen. Seven days after he arrived at Panama, crossed the Isthmus, and took passage at Aspinwall in the steamer "Granada," then plying between that port and Havana. Here he embarked on board the steamer "Philadelphia" for New Orleans, and from New Orleans continued his voyage by the steamer Tennessee to Vera Cruz. Here he landed on the 4th of May, 1858, at a very critical juncture in affairs at that port.

Juarez at Vera Cruz.

On establishing his government at Vera Cruz, Juarez may be said to have had no other resources than public opinion and the hearts of the people, against all the powerful elements which the "old regime" had known so well how to employ.

Success of the "old Regime."

The armies of the "old regime" marched triumphantly in every direction, defeated the liberals almost everywhere, and finally occupied nearly all the capitals of the Republic. Their forces, however, were not sufficiently numerous to establish garrisons at all the places they occupied; and as soon as they were abandoned the people arose, returned to the Constitutional order of things, made new levies of liberal and liberating forces, and found new resources to prosecute the war.

Heroism of the People.

During these three years' contest, sustained with so much tenacity by the people, many heroic acts, sublime examples of self-denying patriotism occurred, which will always be an honor to the liberal party. Their old enemies, however, always repaid the magnanimity, frankness, and loyalty ever shown by the leaders

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of the liberal party, with the most atrocious assassinations.

It is with true regret that the limits proposed for this sketch, preclude the history of the stirring events and heroic deeds of this lengthened contest. The simple statement must suffice, that after two years of continued defeats, the constitutional forces achieved uninterrupted successes. The victorious battles of Soma, Alta, Tepic, Oajaca, and Silao, were the preludes to the termination of that series of conflicts, known as the "Three Years' War."

The trials of Juarez.

Juarez, during all this protracted struggle, had to meet not only all exigencies, but also all the weaknesses, the ambitions, and sometimes something more, of his fellow partisans.

Juarez, it is true, says the author of this sketch, in 1866, cannot wear the trophies of military glory which so many heroes of this reformation obtained in a thousand battles,—most of whom have perished while upholding the liberty, the honor, and the independence of their country. But he has his own glory almost exclusively to himself—if, indeed, less brilliant, not less substantial or abiding. He has never despaired of the salvation of his country. He has been its great Reformer, and he will yet accomplish the Independence of Mexico!

THE THREE GREAT UNFRIENDLY POWERS.

Sympathy of the "three Powers."

The Governments of France, England, and Spain had scarcely limited themselves to any kind or degree of support to the party of the "old regime." They recognized the government, which the Mexicans disavowed, as the Government of Mexico "de facto." The Mexicans repudiated it. Beyond a few of the central cities of the Republic, it had no hold upon the

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respect or confidence of the people. Nevertheless, these foreign governments, in addition to their moral support of the "pseudo-government," gave to it positive aid, and by their naval forces interposed to the Constitutional Government, every obstacle and difficulty in their power. The ports on the Pacific and on the Gulf of Mexico were alternately threatened with the guns of foreign fleets.

Energy of Juarez.

The energy, prudence, and courage of Juarez and his Ministers were enabled at all times to dispel these dangers, and in such a manner that the Dunlop and Périot conventions will always, under the trying circumstances in which they were negotiated, do honor to the Constitutional government.

Laws of Reform.

But the publication of the "Laws of Reform" produced a change in the conduct of the foreign representatives. They received such instructions from their governments, as caused them to change their tactics, without, however, modifying materially the European idea which had a long time previous been matured, of concerted action and co-operation with the party of the "Old Regime."

Constitution of 1857.

The Constitution of 1857 had been, until now, the banner of the liberal party. It embodied within itself the programme of the greater portion of the social reforms demanded by their political creed. But from the moment the laws of July appeared, many of the intelligent men of the liberal party forgot the Constitution, and only thought of securing the reformation, without caring about the means for accomplishing it. The discouragement of some, the impatience and personal ambition of others, and even the enmity of a few to Juarez and to the Constitution itself, contributed to the support of this plan.

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Foreign interference.

The European governments, as was natural, took advantage of these circumstances, and through their ministers, under the pretext that neither of the belligerent parties had sufficient force to overcome the other, and that the war would be interminable, united with these impatient liberals and initiated the plan of diplomatic mediation. They proposed to guarantee to one party the establishment of social reforms, and to the other, that of conservative political principles.

English mediation.

This plan was first officially made known in March, 1860. The British Government, through Captain Aldham of the British Navy, offered its mediation both to Juarez and to Miramon, the representatives respectively of the two parties.

French mediation.

In the month of April following, the French Government, through Mr. Doissau, their Consul at Vera Cruz, made the same proposal, in a despatch to Juarez from M. de Gabriac. Some of the adherents of the liberal party urged upon Juarez the acceptance of this European intervention in the home affairs of Mexico. Others favored asking assistance from the United States, who, on their part, offered a decided protection to the liberal party.

Monarchy for Mexico.

No one could have been blind, from this period, to the design of the European powers to establish a monarchy in Mexico. If any doubt could have existed, it would have been dispelled on seeing the documents seized and taken from the principal agents of the "Church party," off the port of Tampico, and published in August, 1858. No one could longer doubt the inclination or the purposes of the European representatives towards the adherents of the "old regime." For years they had been unmistakably united in sympathy,

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friendly relations, and co-operation with this party. Yet notwithstanding all, there were some prominent men of the liberal party who entered into a scheme so absurd and preposterous, and urged upon Juarez the adoption of the plan.

Firmness of Juarez.

The partisans of this fusion became finally satisfied that Juarez would never accede to any such compromise. To carry their point they even attempted a conspiracy, and endeavored to seduce Don Santos Degollado, and to bring him over to their views. If the charges they made against him be true, Señor Degollado, one of the most faithful and constant defenders of the Constitution, became doubtful, or, blinded by the instigations of bad counsellors, gave in his adhesion and joined the conspiracy. He invited the representative of England, Mr. Mathew, to a conference, and proposed to him the famous plan of pacification by means of the intervention of the foreign ministers.

Juarez inflexible.

Juarez, who, without any resources or any positive element of support whatever on which to rely on accepting the Presidency, had sustained himself up to this period—Juarez, who, when Miramon presented himself before Vera Cruz, with powerful forces, to attack him, had repelled every measure of compromise, and would only consent to be governed by the will of the nation lawfully expressed—could do no less now than to oppose all the incitements of his fellow-supporters, and likewise all pretensions of the Diplomatic corps.

Juarez to the people.

The constant reply of Juarez was, "I am not the chief of a party. I am the lawful representative of the Nation. The instant I set aside law, my powers cease and my mission is ended. I cannot, I do

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not desire to, and I must not, make any compromise whatever. The moment I should do so, my constituents would cease to acknowledge me, because I have sworn to support the Constitution, and I sustain, with entire confidence, the public opinion. When this shall be manifested to me in a different sense, I shall be the first to acknowledge its sovereign deliberations."

The people to Juarez.

The people promptly decided the point beyond question or doubt. The liberal army, which was menacing Guadalajara, the instant they received the news of the revolutionary plan proposed by Don Santos Degollado on the 21st of October, refused to obey him. They had not heard of the supreme decision, on the 17th, which deprived him of the command of the army. A few months afterwards Juarez received the full sanction and approbation of the Nation as to his policy, when it elected him the Constitutional President of the Republic.

A new election.

But Juarez had been accused of personal ambition, and it was thought that his firmness in refusing to accede to compromises arose from the desire to retain the high position that he held. His reply to this was prompt and decisive. In November he issued his proclamation for the election of a President, in the absence of Don Ignacio Comonfort, who had proved a traitor to the Constitution of 1857 and to his party. Thus the way was left open to all interests, to all aspirants, and to the free and frank exercise of the national opinion and will on the point of such vital importance.

Juarez at the Capital.

On the 25th of December, 1860, the city of Mexico was finally occupied by the liberal army. The night before, it had been abandoned by Miramon and the remnant of his completely demoralized army. On the 11th of February, 1861, Juarez with his Cabinet

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entered the Capital, and received a magnificent ovation at the hands of all the inhabitants of the city. The forces of the old dominant party had indeed been conquered, but the elements against which the Constitutional Government had even yet to contend were too many and powerful to admit of peace being the immediate result of this final triumph.

The position of affairs, and the difficulties against which Juarez was forced to contend, on his arrival in the Capital, may be understood and appreciated from the following paragraph, written at that period by a foreigner:

"MEXICO, March 28, 1861.

Position of affairs.

"The situation created by the triumph of the Constitutional army, comprehended, as you will deduce from my last report, all these elements:

"1. The 'old party,' represented by the débris of the army, vanquished at Calpulálpam by the garrison of Mexico, which had been disbanded on Christmas night; and by the active spirits of the clerical party, more or less opposed to the actual order of things.

"2. The Constitutional army and the people, who had been roused to restore the Constitution and carry out the Laws of Reform. This immense element could not on the whole be considered under the character of an armed mass. After this revolutionary return to constitutional authority, it was necessary to restore this body to their normal condition in the Republic, and to cause them to return to their distinct social positions, from which they had been forcibly driven by the tumult and necessities of the conflict.

"3. The several States, each considered as a political entity, and accustomed during the civil war to the exercise of an unlimited sovereignty, incompatible, it is true, with

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the constitutional system. But this exceptional exercise, admitted and even indispensable in the circumstances of the times, was not without its danger. Although in localities faithful and true, yet, under the influence of the liberal spirit of the revolution, and of the impulses of freedom to which a country generally abandons itself after a dear-bought triumph over despotism, the fear was that the example of a temporary exigency might be urged as a permanent policy.

"4. After these came the civil element of the revolution, —persons in the community more or less impregnated with democratic ideas, and who had been for three years looking for the success of the constitutional arms. With exaggerated ideas based upon this state of facts, and with feelings exasperated by the brutal pressure which the 'old party' had caused to be felt by the country, they had their various theories of government.

"5. There was still another, which may be called the social element. It was composed of the representatives of the interests which had initiated the reforms attempted in 1856. These interests had been greatly injured by the revolution of Tacubaya. Their numbers and demands had greatly increased after the principle of nationalization had been proclaimed to its full extent. Their demands indeed went beyond the limits of equity and reason.

"With these varied and conflicting elements of the difficult situation, were interwoven the pretensions of the Diplomatic Representatives, growing out of the different international questions which had arisen in the nation during the course of the civil war.

"On the meeting of Congress the political situation became more and more complicated. The deputies chosen when so many different elements stirred the country, it

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necessarily followed that the same should enter into the composition of the Legislature."

It has not been the object of this memoir, to defend the administrative acts of Juarez, nor to attack his opponents. Such a design would have led to too severe an opinion of the Legislature of 1861, which notwithstanding was distinguished by some acts of true patriotism.

Acts of Congress.

This Congress had scarcely been convened, when it began rudely to attack the administration. It undertook to declare itself a "National Convention;" and even proposed to establish within itself a revolutionary tribunal similar to that of France in 1793.

Opposition to Juarez.

The clamor which was first raised against the cabinet, was finally brought to bear against the President. The Presidential election which took place in March, throughout the Republic, was in its result, the freest that had occurred in the country. But during its course, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, *although privately* (an act we shall not attempt to qualify), addressed himself to several Governors, in order that they might exert themselves in favor of Don Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, a candidate like Juarez, for the Presidency of the Republic.

Re-election of Juarez.

Juarez, however, received the greater number of votes. Notwithstanding the fact, a considerable minority in Congress attempted to oppose the election of Juarez, by taking as their candidate Don Jesus Gonzalez Ortega. The majority of the Congress, however, prevailed, and declared Juarez to be the constitutional President of the Republic, by the vote of the people.

Juarez for peace.

It was impossible under these circumstances that peace could be re-established at once, and history will never lay it to the charge of Juarez that he was

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unable to obtain such a result. The very dissensions of those who at this period called themselves liberals, caused the rising in certain places of a few armed marauding parties. In the name of religion and of privileges, they went so far as to attack the capital itself, but with poor success.

European Intervention.

The old project of the re-occupation of America by Europeans, had now became a plan fully matured and prepared. The occupation of Saint Domingo had its effect. This foreign measure naturally found a response among the traitors of Mexico. The situation of the Government became complicated. At this period, it could not rely upon a united public opinion and a strong support in the Legislative body. On the contrary, personal ambitions, the interests of mal-administration, and here and there a Deputy opposed to Juarez, caused a blind and persistent opposition in the Congress. The times demanded a firm, prompt, decisive action, in order to uphold the Constitution and the reforms against a fanatical and treacherous reaction. The blindness of this group of disaffected Deputies and oppositionists went to the extent that they presented an exposition to Juarez requesting him voluntarily to withdraw from the Presidency; and furthermore, they invited all the Governors and Legislatures of the States to second their request.

The movement for a monarchy.

It were unjust to stamp as traitors the fifty-one signers of this petition, for among the names there are a few who subsequently upheld the standard of National Independence with more or less glory, with more or less success, but always with the dignity of true Mexicans. Notwithstanding, the majority of them, beginning with the three who figured as leaders, Careaga, Linares and Montellano, crouched in the presence of the for-

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eign invader, and sold themselves to the Empire of Maximilian, and have shown to the world that their thoughts as well as all their acts were those of traitors.

Failure of the Monarchists.

To this petition of fifty-one deputies, fifty-two others replied, requesting the President to remain at his post. The rest of the Deputies deemed both petitions to be uncalled for. All the Governors of the States, all the Legislatures, and the greater part of the Press condemned with one voice, the conduct of the fifty-one! The final result of this temporary movement was, that Juarez received through all the channels which a country has for expressing its will, a vote of the nation's confidence, a full approbation of his acts, and a complete recognition of his merits, and of the services he had rendered to the cause of liberty and reform. The event entirely extinguished the strong opposition which had manifested itself in the Congress; and although the same elements still remained within the body, they were never able afterwards to organize or to unite.

EUROPEAN DESIGNS AGAINST AMERICA.

European opportunity.

Early in the year 1861, the press of Europe had been announcing the designs and threats of Europe against America. The object was to reduce the American Republics to a state of colonial dependency. The war in the United States favored all these projects. The world has now witnessed the fullest confirmation of fears and attempts which at that period were deemed groundless and impossible.

The pretext for Intervention.

The necessities of the moment caused the Executive to propose the law of the 17th of July. This measure among other things sanctioned, as a necessity, the suspension for two years, of the payments

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agreed upon in the diplomatic conventions. The Congress through all its votes, less four, approved of this law. But it was the pretext of which Europe availed itself, for sending its armies of occupation, and France for setting up its intervention, and subsequently imposing its Maximilian Empire.

Juarez and his Cause.

From this time forth, the name of Juarez belongs not only to Mexico, but it belongs to the whole world. The various changes of the war have not yet brought victory to Mexico. But Mexico can hold up to the world the never-to-be-forgotten victory of May 5th, 1862; and a constancy in adversity of which few nations can boast. Mexico, weakened by more than forty years of civil strife, has contended against the whole power of the French government. And though this army did not consist of more than fifty thousand men, they may be reckoned as imperishable. For the dead, the sick, and the crippled among them, were constantly replaced by others. They possessed all the appliances of modern warfare, many of which were entirely unknown to Mexicans. They could rely upon the moral support of all the powers of Europe, upon the wealthy of all the foreign nationalities in the country, and more than all, upon the treason of many Mexicans, whom a fanatical clergy had enlisted in its cause.

Dependence of the Mexicans.

Meanwhile the true and loyal Mexicans have depended only upon the elements of their pure patriotism, and upon the energy with which the indomitable constancy of Juarez inspired them. Dispersed in every direction, without any possible concert of movements, the contest has been prolonged for four years. And yet the French army and its heralded Empire, have acquired nothing but the ground upon which they trod.

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Statistics of the War.

The following statements, taken from the journal called "La Sombra," may be received as truthful. They have been collected with great care by a gentleman of reliable character.

"According to the official reports published in this paper during the last seven months of the year 1864, one hundred and two (102) fights have taken place, of more or less importance, in which three thousand two hundred and seventy-seven (3277) men were killed, and thirteen hundred (1300) wounded.

"During the year 1865, the number of battles, fights, and skirmishes amounted to three hundred and twenty-two (322), almost a battle a day. There were sixteen hundred and seventy-four (1674) killed, and twelve hundred and seventy-nine (1279) wounded. These numbers added together, give a total of *four hundred and twenty-four* (424) engagements, *nine thousand nine hundred and fifty-three* (9953) killed, and *two thousand six hundred* (2600) wounded in nineteen months."

Heroism of the Mexicans.

During this contest, Mexico has depended upon the physical aid of no one, but upon Mexicans alone. If they have not been enabled to conquer, they have at least incessantly contended with their foes. To history is left a broad field, wherein to relate a thousand heroic deeds, even now unknown. The independent corps called guerrillas, and the larger bodies of the Mexican army, have made use of no other means of publicity, than the reports made by the chiefs of the enemy. They, without shame, have claimed victories even on those occasions, when they have been defeated by the defenders of our independence.

The Capital abandoned.

But to follow Juarez: Puebla was captured by Forey on the 17th of May, 1863. On the

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31st of the same month, the government was compelled to abandon the City of Mexico. It was deemed impossible to defend it; and resistance could only cause many evils to the peaceful inhabitants of the Capital.

Flight of Juarez.

After closing the chambers, Juarez left Mexico at 3 o'clock in the evening, and commenced his journey to the interior; stopped one day at Queretaro, and on the 10th of June established the capital at San Luis de Potosi.

The French party now began to withdraw from their allies, the pure conservative party, and sought to win over the liberals with great promises. The conservative party, on its side, commenced the work of confiscation.

Capricious patriots.

Juarez now found that some of those who hitherto had called themselves Patriots, began through fear or cajolery, to abandon him, to recognize the government of the intervention, and to make the most of their treason, which, although more tardy, was none the less shameful than that of Almonte.

Juarez at San Luis.

Juarez remained in San Luis until December, 1863. He then went to Saltillo, entrusting to General Negrete the defence against the enemy. On his route he received the news of the defeat of General Negrete; and being detained some days at Matchuala, he arrived at Saltillo on the 9th of February following, 1864.

The government, which at that time had neither resources nor soldiers, here found that Don Santiago Vidaurri, the Governor of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, was already secretly in full accord with the interventionists, and ready to surrender to them.

Juarez at Monterey.

Juarez set out with his Cabinet for Monterey, for the purpose of neutralizing the efforts of Vidaurri, and he there refused him due obedience, and

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with arms in hand, endeavored to make resistance to the Government. Juarez issued a decree depriving Vidaurri of his authority; and all the people of the States of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila declared against their late Governor. He was compelled to flee the country, having been abandoned by every one.

The Government was established at Monterey until, threatened by three columns of the Franco-traitors marching upon that city, it was compelled to withdraw.

On the 15th of August, 1864, Juarez began his journey. The town being attacked by the traitors, under the command of Quiroga, he was compelled to leave Santa Catalina on the following day, amidst the firing of those who pursued him to that town. He then continued his march to Chihuahua, where he arrived on the 12th of October, 1864. Here he remained until the 5th of August, 1865, when he left for Paso del Norte. During this journey he encountered immense difficulties, and noted at every step the void created around him by defections, sickness, and death.

The mission of Juarez.

The handful of loyal men who still rallied around him, was composed of a little band of heroes whose sufferings and troubles cannot be described. But Juarez had a mission to fulfil. He had to carry high the standard of the independence of Mexico, without at any time ever abandoning the Mexican territory; and when he was compelled to separate from his family, when he saw himself abandoned by men who were either tired of the contest, or were obliged to abandon their friends, he still continued firm and faithful to his duty unto the end. It was his to restore the Flag in the palace of Montezuma in Mexico; and all loyal Mexicans believe that he will again unfurl and maintain the tri-color banner of the Republic.

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Such have been some of the principal events in the life of Señor Juarez, and here this narrative would rest, but for a desire to make known something of his private life, which is so characteristic of the man.

Personal appearance.

Juarez, in stature, is of less than medium size, with strongly marked features, of coppery complexion, black eyes, with a frank expression of countenance, and small hands and feet. His bearing and manner are entirely open and communicative in matters which require no reserve, and eminently reserved in affairs of state. With a temperament lymphatic and bilious, he has all the energy and force of persons of such temperament, and all that calmness and coolness in the midst of the greatest dangers which in general distinguish his race. His health is always good. Only on one occasion (at Saltillo) has he been known to be confined to his bed.

His marriage.

On the 1st of August, 1843, he married a young lady, Doña Margarita Maza, who was of a distinguished and wealthy family in Oajaca. They have had twelve children, nine girls and three boys. Two of the sons and three of the daughters have died, and among them his youngest son, José Maria, who was perhaps the most beloved of Juarez. His precocious intelligence and clear perceptions gave promise of great distinction.

The eldest daughter married, in May, 1863, Don Pedro Santacilla, a Cuban patriot and literary gentleman, who, in Mexico, his adopted country, has shown the same attachment to Republican principles which has distinguished him in other countries.

Domestic life.

The fullest opportunities of knowing the private life of Juarez have only led to admiration of his devotion to his family, and of the happy tranquility of his domestic hearth. Madame Juarez, a model wife,

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has, through her genial disposition, always rendered her husband happy; and he on his part, has had for her an unbounded affection. Society has never yet, up to the present period, accused him of a single departure from that private morality, violations of which so often occasion irreparable domestic troubles. His proverbial honesty in public life has always corresponded to the purity and integrity of his private character. He is frugal and simple in his modes of living, sleeps but little, and rises always with the dawn of day. The moments he has free from occupations he devotes to study, principally that of history. He is a well-educated man, but extremely modest. It is not his custom to boast of his attainments.

Personal courage.

In times of danger he is one of the coolest of men. On the 1st of April, 1850, he being then the Governor of Oajaca, a portion of the Guerrero battalion, then garrisoned in the city, pronounced against him. Juarez met them at once, having only a cane in his hand, and his presence among them, while the balls were even then flying around him, sufficed to put down the revolt. In 1861, when Marquez was attacking the city of Mexico, and while the Governor of the Palace, who was a general, sought shelter, Juarez stood calmly giving his orders at the very time when the news of the advance of the enemy seemed most alarming.

The acts of his Life.

The object of this work has been simply to cause the life of Juarez to be known; not to defend him, nor to praise him. He needs neither defence nor praise. The name of Juarez has acquired its own historic fame, without the aid of fawning biographers, or of paid historians. Those of his acts which were most opposed at the time, have in the end received the approbation of his most bitter enemies. Impartial history will

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record its verdict; and a nation will testify its approval or disapproval of the acts of his life.

History of Mexico.

It has been quite incompatible with the object of this brief memoir, to blend the history of Mexico, during the last eight years, with the life of Juarez, as important as it is that both should be known, and as intimately and indissolubly as they are interwoven together. Not an incident or act has been cited in this narrative, which flattery can claim as her own. The simple, truthful record of historic facts will be his lasting memorial, in the annals of the Republic, for his countrymen, and for humanity struggling for the "rights of man;" and for posterity, a monument to Juarez more enduring than marble or brass.

Prospects of Mexico.

When this brief life of Señor Juarez was undertaken, the political horizon of the Mexican Republic was exceedingly obscured. The defections of men whom the liberal party had elevated among themselves were the order of the day. Juarez was then upon his third pilgrimage from Monterey to Chihuahua, traversing vast deserts, seeing himself abandoned by his friends, whom disease, the scarcity of means, desertion, and death had scattered in every direction. On this journey the serenity and firmness of Juarez in adversity were most remarkable.

Trials of the Patriots.

During these dark days, when all his family were in a foreign land, he learned that two of his children were at the point of death without his having the consolation of seeing them die. The conservative journals brought him the news that his eldest son had disappeared in the streets of New Orleans. Such accumulation of trials, public, domestic, and personal, test and reveal the character. And all who under these circum-

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stances, had opportunity to witness the conduct of Juarez, to approach him, or to speak to him, learned to honor the patriot, the father, and the man. He never lost hope. He encouraged the doubtful and weak-minded, assuring them of the final salvation of the Republic.

Desire for private life.

Subsequently to these events a most honorable opportunity was presented to him to end his sufferings, and to retire to private life with a conscience entirely at ease, satisfied that he had discharged his duties beyond the measure by which most men recognize their obligations. His position had in it nothing attractive to him. But his friends pressed him to continue his efforts to serve and save the country from anarchy and ruin. And he continued to carry high aloft, and with honor, the "BANNER OF THE REPUBLIC."

The desire of Mexico.

On the 8th of November, 1865, in virtue of the ample powers which the Nation through its representatives had conceded to him on four distinct occasions, he extended the period during which he was to occupy the presidential office. The entire nation has not, certainly, discussed the legality of this measure, but it has said, with one voice, "Mexico will not feel that it has received full amends for foreign intervention, until it shall see Juarez again in the occupation of the palace of Montezuma."

The name of Juarez is now the watchword of independence for all true Mexicans, and the terror of those traitors who, foreseeing their doom, would seek to shun the perspective of their terrible punishment.

May God, in his mercy, save Mexico.

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The following correspondence will explain the origin of this work, and the circumstances which called forth the correction of one or two of its errors, and a verification of the accuracy of its other statements, so honorable to the subject of the memoir.

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1866.

To Señor Don Juan Macias,
Editor of "La Voz de la America," New York:

My esteemed Sir—In numbers 21 and 22 of the second volume of "La Voz de la America," corresponding to the 10th and 20th of July last, there were published some biographical sketches of Mr. Juarez, President of the Mexican Republic, which are the most complete and correct of those which up to this period have appeared. Having forwarded them to Mr. Juarez for his examination, it seems that they still contain some inaccuracies, which have now been corrected by the very person whose life is treated of, in the two letters dated at Chihuahua the 20th and 27th of August last, 1866, copies of which I transmit to you, requesting you, if you deem it proper, to be pleased to insert them in your valuable journal.

I am, sir, your very obedient servant,
M. ROMERO.

CHIHUAHUA, August 20th, 1866.

Señor Don Matias Romero:

My esteemed Friend—With your letter of the 14th of July last, I received two pages of the journal called "La Voz de La America," number 21, which you were pleased to send me, in which it begins the publication of a biographical article which was sent to you from Mexico. I thank you, as also the author of the article, for the interest you take in making known to the public the acts of

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my life, judging of me through them in the most favorable manner, and which I do not deserve. I should here close my reply to your said letter, but having noticed some errors in the account given of certain facts, I will make some remarks upon the subject.

Whenever similar articles have hitherto appeared under the head of anonymous publications, I have not cared to correct the errors as to facts which they contain in relation to my public life; but since you have had the goodness to authorize by your signature, the publication of the article referred to, I think myself in duty bound, to correct some facts, of which neither yourself nor the person who wrote it, could have had an exact knowledge, and they are the following:

First, That in 1846, when General Santa Anna presented himself on the frontiers of the State of Oajaca, he demanded that the command should be delivered to him, in order to continue the war.

Second, That in November, 1855, I availed myself of the absence of Mr. Comonfort to procure from the President, Don Juan Alvarez, his signature to the law for the administration of justice, which was then declared.

Third, That when, on the 20th of March, 1858, my escort was attacked and besieged at Santa-Aña Acotlan, by Lieutenant-Colonel D. Antonio Landa, in the State of Jalisco, I proposed to the Ministers who accompanied me, to deliver me up to the enemy, in order to save themselves.

I will here state to you what really occurred with reference to each of these events, that you may have them corrected in such manner as you may deem proper.

I. So soon as I took charge of the government of the State of Oajaca, in 1847, the supporters of the unlawful administration which had just disappeared, united to those

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who desired the return of Mr. Arteaga to the government, began to take active measures for creating a revolt, which would bring about the realization of their wishes; and thus compelled the government, then engaged in preparing for the defence of the State against the foreign invasion, to adopt the necessary measures for the preservation of the public order. Under these circumstances, the news was received that General Santa Anna, who had already abandoned the command of the army of the Republic, had arrived at the city of Tehuacan with the intention of proceeding to the capital of Oajaca.

This news encouraged the disturbers of the public order at the said capital, who redoubled their efforts by writing and sending agents to General Santa Anna for the purpose of advising him to hasten his march. The city council addressed me a protest, and the legislature a remonstrance in no event to permit the coming of said General, because his presence in the city, under these circumstances would be dangerous to the public peace. I then ordered the Governor of the department of Teotitlan del Camino, that in the event that General Santa Anna should enter the territory of the State, he should inform him, he could pass through and remain in any town thereof, except the capital and its neighborhood. General Santa Anna did enter the territory of the State, remained some days in Teotitlan, and afterwards withdrew towards Orizaba, without having demanded that the command should be delivered to him.

II. When Mr. Alvarez reached the city of Mexico in 1855, the first subject to which he directed his attention was, the reorganization of the public administration, owing to which, at the first meeting of the cabinet which was held, he directed that each of the Ministers should

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prepare in their respective branches, and present to him such projects of laws and regulations as ought to be decreed with that object.

I at once manifested that in my view, it was indispensable to introduce some reforms in the branch of the administration of justice, by annulling or modifying, for the time being, the dispositions which gave life to the *especial tribunals*, because they were notoriously injurious to society in consequence of the abuse of them, by the classes in whose favor they were decreed, and as being in *open conflict with the principle of equality* which the nation, in the last revolution, which had just then triumphed, had proposed to carry into effect.

Mr. Alvarez consented to this proposition, and Mr. Comonfort did not oppose it. With this understanding, I drew up the project of the law, for the administration of justice, which I presented to the President, that it might be taken into consideration. When I spoke to Mr. Comonfort respecting this business, he informed me that, having an overwhelming amount of work in his ministry, it would be impossible for him to attend to the reading and examination of the project, but that it could be acted upon without his attendance, it being understood that he would agree to whatever should be decided upon.

The President named a day to discuss this business; and at the appointed hour, Mr. Alvarez stated that Mr. Comonfort did not attend the council, because he had gone out of the city to attend to some family matters. Then, and considering that the administration of justice was estoped, for the want of magistrates and judges lawfully named, the President directed that the disposal of this business should no longer be delayed. The project of law to which I allude having been read, discussed, and

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approved, Mr. Alvarez ordered that it should be printed and published as a law, without there having occurred in the matter, either surprise or stratagem of any nature.

III. With reference to the affair at Santa-Aña Acotlan, I have to say, that after the firing commenced between the small force which accompanied me, and that commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Landa, General Don Francisco Iniestra, who then commanded my escort, informed me that if the enemy made an assault, our capture would be inevitable, because the ammunition was about giving out, the building in which we were was very weak, and the enemy had nearly six hundred men, and our force did not amount to over sixty, which he made known to me, that I might think of some mode of escape, and give him my orders, with which he would comply to the letter, as in duty bound.

I made known to the Ministers who accompanied me, what Mr. Iniestra had just communicated to me, and said to them that my opinion was, that they and the other employés who composed my retinue, could leave the building, taking all the possible precautions to avoid being seen by the enemy, and conceal themselves in some of the houses of the town, or take to the open field, in order to avoid the consequences of an assault, which the enemy would undoubtedly make during that evening or on the morning of the following day; that I would remain to share the fate of our force; and that the means of salvation which I indicated to them, was not unbecoming to them, because, as they were not exercising any military command whatever at the time, nor were appointed to remain constantly with me, in a situation when nothing could be done in matters of government, they were not under the same strict obligation as I was, to remain at my post,

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under similar circumstances. They, however, answered me in a positive and decided manner, that they would not accept my proposal, whatever might be my fate. I thanked them, and ordered that, if during the rest of the evening an assault was not made, we should avail ourselves of the night to break through the siege, the only means of safety which was left us. This order was communicated to Mr. Iniestra, and we began our march at eleven o'clock the same night.

I will thank you to send me the rest of the article which has caused this long letter, in case there should be some other public fact which should be corrected by me.

I remain your affectionate friend,

BENITO JUAREZ.

CHIHUAHUA, August 27th, 1866.

Señor Matias Romero, Washington:

My dear Friend—I received at the same time your letters of the 26th and 28th of July last, and the strips enclosed.

* * * * * * *

I also received the last part of the biography published in "La Voz de la America." By the previous mail I sent you a letter, in which I call your attention to the inaccuracy which appears in it, respecting some events of my public life. I have nothing more to add thereto.

I remain your affectionate friend,

BENITO JUAREZ.

In order to give an idea of the events in the life of Juarez to which the author of this biographical sketch has not been able to refer, the following extracts from a letter of Señor Romero's will bring the narrative down to June, 1866.

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WASHINGTON, December 1, 1866.

* * * * * *

Of the history of Señor Juarez after his departure from Mexico, there has been little or nothing written.

* * * * * *

While he was at San Luis Potosi, there was a change of cabinet brought about by General Doblado, Governor of the State of Guanajuato, and Commander-in-chief of the same State. Doblado, Comonfort and Lerdo de Tejada went into the new cabinet, which was organized on the 1st of September: the first named withdrew therefrom, in less than one week, the third named person taking the place of the former. With reference to General Comonfort, he afterwards took the command of the army, and was, very shortly thereafter assassinated, by a party of the allies of the French.

* * * * * *

President Juarez committed the defence of San Luis to General Negrete, and that of Morelia, to General Uraga, who had succeeded Comonfort in the command of the army. Both of them abandoned these cities, and attempted subsequently to recapture them, when already occupied by the enemy, but without success.

It is related of President Juarez that, while on the road, and hearing that San Luis had been abandoned, he caused his escort to return, so that by uniting it with the forces commanded by General Negrete, it might contribute to the reoccupation of that city.

The people of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila finally rose *en masse* against Vidaurri, and compelled him to flee to Mexico, where Maximilian appointed him a Councillor of State. The disappointments which Vidaurri caused to

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Juarez while on his way to Saltillo, brought on a bilious fever, which came near causing the death of the President. The forces brought from Guanajuato and Zacatecas, by Generals Doblado and Gonzales Ortega, contributed in a great degree to the successes obtained against Vidaurri. While on his way to Chihuahua, Juarez stopped successively with the government at Viezca, Mapimi, and Nazas for some days, in order to organize into a single corps the numerous and well-disciplined forces which he still had, and which came from the States of Zacatecas, Durango, and Chihuahua. The command in chief was given to General Ortega, his second in command being General Patoni. These forces, which fought bravely at the battle of Majorica (September 21st, 1864), were finally beaten and dispersed in the retreat, in consequence of the discouragement which had seized its leader.

On the 12th of October, 1864, the President arrived at Chihuahua, where the government was at once established. The demonstrations of affection with which Mr. Juarez was received in that city, and at the towns in his transit, were of the most extraordinary kind. The Minister of Foreign Affairs reported them in his circular of the 5th of November.

General Negrete, who had taken charge of the ministry of war, made vacant by the death of Comonfort, marched with all the forces, of which he could dispose in Chihuahua, to the frontier of Durango, and reënforcing them with the troops of this State, he traversed an immense distance, almost deserted, until he entered the State of Coahuila. Here, without meeting with resistance, he occupied the city of Saltillo, which had already been carried by assault, on the 31st of March, 1865, by the patriots of that State, under the command of General Viezca. He

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arrived at Parras, where, as early as the 15th, the garrison of the enemy had pronounced for the Republic.

In the beginning of April, he occupied Monterey, which had been evacuated by the invaders, upon his approach, and he would have taken possession of Matamoros, before which he arrived, had it not been for a misunderstanding. He had been led to believe that the confederate commanders at Brownsville would aid with southern forces the traitors then shut up in that city. The evidences of sympathy which have existed between the confederates and the traitors, since that time, have been very decided.

He then undertook his retreat to Chihuahua, unnecessarily, as the government thought, and lost a great portion of his force in the desert, besides causing great injury by thus permitting the enemy to extend its lines again, over the States of Coahuila and Nuevo Leon, and to send a detachment of a strong column against the city of Chihuahua. This compelled Juarez to leave that city on the 5th of August, 1865, for Paso del Norte, where he established his government on the 15th of the same month.

In the circular of Mr. Lerdo de Tejada of that date, and again in a letter of the President's to a friend, which was published at the time, he declared his firm determination of never abandoning the soil of Mexico, and of maintaining the contest against the invaders.

In this letter, the indomitable energy of Juarez is manifested, in the most conspicuous manner, and also his faith in the final success of the national cause.

The French abandoned Chihuahua, towards the end of October, being compelled to concentrate their forces, by reason of the rising of the country against them. On the 13th of November following, Juarez left Paso del Norte

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for that capital. He arrived there on the 20th, meeting with the same enthusiastic reception, which he had received on his first visit.

On this occasion, however, he did not remain in Chihuahua longer than nineteen days; for, on the 9th of the following month of December, he again went to Paso del Norte, where he set up the government on the 18th. The cause of this sudden return, was the unexpected approach of the French, who retraced their steps, changing their purpose in a manner which could not be accounted for.

The city of Chihuahua having been again and finally evacuated by the French, Juarez set out from El Paso on the 10th of June, 1866, and a second time established the national government at the capital of that State, on the 17th of the same month.

The difficulties, embarrassments, and great deprivations, both personal and to his government, which Juarez suffered, on the two occasions that he was at El Paso, can neither be estimated nor even conceived by those who have not closely noted these passing events.

* * * * * *

Among the evidences of respect and sympathy which Mr. Juarez has received from abroad, and after his departure from the city of Mexico, may be enumerated the decree of the Congress of Colombia, declaring that he has deserved well of America, and directing his portrait to be kept in the National Library at Bogota, "as an homage to his virtues, and as an example to the youths of Colombia." This decree, of the 1st of May, 1865, was communicated to President Juarez, by the Mexican Legation at Washington.

The people of Montevideo, the capital of the Republic of Uruguay, upon hearing of the death of General Zara-

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goza, the conqueror of the French, to whom they had voted a medal, dedicated and sent it to Juarez through the same channel.

The demonstrations of every nature, made throughout the United States, in honor of President Juarez, are so numerous, that it is impossible to give an account of them in a few words.

From Europe itself, from Belgium, whose princess Charlotte has been called the Empress of Mexico, President Juarez has received assurances of sympathy for his cause, and respect for his person, forwarded by the societies known as "The Union of the Civic Guard of Liege," and the "League of the Lower Countries of Antwerp."

And finally, even Maximilian himself, in his manifesto issued upon its becoming known at the City of Mexico that Juarez had gone to El Paso, even though he falsely accused him of having abandoned the national territory, could do no less than extol his perseverance in the defence of his cause, as he is pleased to term that of the Nation.

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JUAREZ AND HIS CABINET.

The following descriptions of President Juarez and his Cabinet, are from the pen and personal knowledge of Colonel George E. Church, whose Historical and Political Review of Mexico and its Revolutions, is the ablest paper on the subject, that has appeared in our country.

BENITO JUAREZ.

"There is an ordinary looking house at Chihuahua, with a single sentinel at the door. Two or three aids occupy the rooms on the right of an interior court-yard. On the opposite side of this is the office of the Minister of the Interior; on the immediate right that of Foreign Relations, and on the left that of the President, in whose hands has rested the destiny of Mexico since the French invasion. Entering the parlor on the left, you find that, like every other surrounding of the government, it is a type of republican simplicity. The only ornaments are a few historical paintings hanging upon the walls. Among them is a portrait of Iturbide. Pushing aside the curtains from the door of an interior room, a quiet, unassuming man advances to meet you. A courteous greeting, a frank grasp of the hand, and a cordial invitation to be seated, place you at once at your ease, and you prepare to study the Indian before you. He is, perhaps, five feet five inches in height, thick set, and with a broad full chest, which gives him a powerful vitality. A bold rounded and high forehead, very slightly receding from a vertical line, eyes large and swimming in liquid blackness, finely cut eye-brows, arched

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and curving far back; a goodly development of practical as well as theoretical brain; the nose as well as the other features rather heavy; a large mouth; a head good-sized, well balanced, and seated firmly upon a pair of broad shoulders by a short neck, are the main features of the man. While at rest, his Indian colored features do not show the power behind them; but once kindled to action, the brain illuminates every one of them, and the black eyes flash a peculiar light, as if to give more forcible expression to his language. A quiet, unyielding determination and a firm reliance upon self, are the impressions you gain of him upon acquaintance. You converse upon politics and find that your ideas are not more thoroughly republican than his; you speak of war, and his military knowledge meets you half way; you turn to political economy and find that you propose nothing that he has not analyzed, and you finally leave him with the impression that you have met one of the ablest men that Mexico has produced."

DON SEBASTIAN LERDO DE TEJADA, MINISTER OF STATE.

"The Secretary of State is a small man, but of good physical organization. Modest, unassuming, and thoroughly republican, an indefatigable worker, a close student, and an able statesman; cool, clear, and logical in argument; he is invaluable to the government in these troublous times."

"He is about the size of the President. His features are Roman; a bold fine forehead, swelling with intellectual wealth, a well-cut nose and chin, and a large well-balanced head. An open and generous expression of the face, with a mild but thoughtful and intelligent gray eye, make you desire his friendship at once; while a frank and

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even warm reception of any friend of the cause in which he so earnestly labors, gives you a favorable impression of Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. A very pure diction in French, and a fine command of language, make him a very agreeable conversationist. Señor Tejada was born in Jalapa, in the state of Vera Cruz, in the year 1825. His education, commenced at Puebla, was finished at the city of Mexico. Although a lawyer by profession, he was for many years President of the College of San Ildefonso, in Mexico. In 1856 and 1857, he was Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico. In 1857, under Comonfort, he was Minister of Foreign Relations, and from 1861 to 1863 was a deputy to the National Congress, being President of the same, when on the 31st of May, 1863, it closed its last session."

"In the ministerial combination which General Doblado formed in San Luis, in the beginning of September, 1863, he became the Minister of Justice. This combination having violently transcended its powers, he, the same month and year refused to serve in the position, and was made Secretary of State under President Juarez, which position he has since that time constantly filled, and has been a firm supporter of the cause, following the government in all its movements from place to place."

DON JOSÉ MARIA YGLESIAS, MINISTER OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

"In the Minister of Justice we have another indefatigable worker; a bee whom it is impossible to find idle. His desk, covered with piles of books, papers, and manuscripts, gives you the idea that you have entered the sanctum of an editor. You are cordially greeted by a small but well-formed man, dressed with scrupulous neatness.

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A full-sized head, with a finely organized brain, a quickly moving black eye, lighting up a high and well-developed forehead, the hair cut very close, a pair of gold-bowed spectacles, and the whole face having no salient or marked features, will cause you to exclaim, 'Here is a college president, a student, or a philosopher.' He speaks French fluently, has a nervous, impulsive address, and a courtier-like politeness, which a long life of court contact has polished into perfect ease of speech and action. To-day, however, the man is all business."

"José Maria Yglesias was born in the city of Mexico, is now forty-three years of age, and is a lawyer by profession. He has been principal editor of several periodicals and journals, such as *Don Simplicie*, *La Chinaca*, *El Republicano*, *El Monitor*, *El Siglo XIX.*, the *Diario Official*, and *El Album*. Some of these journals took rank as the foremost in the capital during their publication. In 1844, '45, '46 he was Professor of Philosophy and Law in the College of San Gregorio of Mexico, and in the same years, Professor of Languages in the College of S. Ildefonso of the same city; while at the same time he occupied a seat in the City Council. 1847 and 1848 found him one of the Ministers of the Tribunal of War; while, about the middle of the latter year, he became also Auditor of the Army. In 1851, '52, '53 he served as Chief of the Section of Public Credit, and was also a deputy to the General Congress in 1852. In 1855 and '56 he was Chief of Section in the Finance Department; was Minister of Justice and Public instruction from January to May, 1857, and also a Minister of the Supreme Court of Justice in the same year, under Comonfort's administration. From 1860 to 1861 he beame General Administrator of Taxes, and in the latter year, chief officer of the

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Finance Department. From 1861 to 1863, Administrator of the Custom House of Mexico."

"Having left the city of Mexico as a private individual, rather than live under the shadow of the French intervention, he went to San Luis Potosi, and there, on the 12th of September, 1863, was named Minister of Justice, Public Improvement, and Public Instruction. On the 12th of January, 1864, he also took charge of the Departments of Finance and Public Credit. From these dates he has filled both positions with much credit. He has accompanied the general government in all its peregrinations, as a member of the Cabinet of President Juarez, without separating from his side. He has in consequence, been in San Luis Potosi, in Saltillo, in Monterey, in Chihuahua three times, and twice in El Paso del Norte."

DON IGNACIO MEJIA, MINISTER OF WAR AND MARINE.

"The Minister of War and Marine was born in Timatlan, in the State of Oajaca, on the 14th of August, 1814. He is rather above the medium height. His erect, but lithe and military bearing scarcely indicates thirty-three years of rough campaigning in the cause of 'liberty and reform.' A fine, bold forehead, of marked intelligence, with the reasoning powers well developed, a firm gray eye, regular features which are tinged with a soldierly bronze, a frank grasp of the hand indicative of a firm friend or a bold enemy—as you will—and you have Major-General Ignacio Mejia. He is a townsman of President Juarez, and, from boyhood up to the present, they have fought side by side in the same great cause."

"General Mejia received his education at the capital of Oajaca, finally graduating with honors from the College

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of Sciences and Arts of that State. He is still a close student, and speaks English and French with fluency. In 1829, upon menace of a Spanish invasion, he entered the National Guard as a soldier. 1833 found him a Captain of grenadiers, opposing the National Church party under Generals Arista and Duran. In 1846–'47, as colonel of a battalion, he became a marked man as a bold advocate of Vice-President Farias, to confiscate a part of the church property to carry on the American war. The same years he was a deputy to the Congress of Oajaca. From 1850 to 1852 he was a Senator to the same Congress, although during a part of the time he commanded and was Governor of the province of Tehuantepec, and also Governor of Oajaca. Upon the triumph of the revolution of Ayutla, in 1855, he was called to the Council of State. Soon after, he became Chief of Staff in a brigade commanded by President Juarez, who marched to restore order in Oajaca. In 1857, again a State deputy. The same year, as a Major-General, he defeated the reactionists in a bloody battle, raised the siege of Oajaca, pursued them to Tehuantepec, and completely dispersed them. He then, in command of a brigade, marched to the support of the constitutional government at Vera Cruz, where he rendered signal service in the defeat of the two attacks of Miramon upon that place. In command of the second brigade of Oajaca, he again distinguished himself in several actions against the reactionists, but after the defeat of the liberals at Teotitlan, retired with them again to Vera Cruz. In 1861, after defeating the church forces under Marquez and Mejia, he became Governor of Queretaro. Upon the rallying of Marquez, he beat back his assault upon the capital. For signal service against great odds, at the final battle against Marquez and Mejia, at Pachuca, he won the title of

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"heroic." At the defeat of the French at Puebla, May 5, 1862, he commanded the third division and was chief of staff of the army, and became afterwards Governor and military commander of the State of Puebla. At the great siege of Puebla by Forey, he was second in command, and when the city fell, was taken a prisoner of war to France. Liberated in June, 1864, he came to the United States via England. On the 18th of September, 1865, he was ordered to El Paso by Juarez, accompanied him to Chihuahua, was named General of Division in the November following, and accompanied the government again to El Paso, where, on the 25th of December, 1865, he was appointed to his present position. Since 1855 he has seen constant service. In storm and in sunshine, he has fought under the banner of 'Liberty and Reform;' and never for a moment has favored the reactionary cause."

DON IGNACIO MARESCAL, MINISTER OF JUSTICE.

Ignacio Marescal was born on the 5th of July, 1829, in the city of Oajaca, capital of Oajaca State. He made there his studies, and practised law in the city of Mexico, where he was received as a lawyer by the Supreme Court of the Republic, in December, 1849.

In 1850 he returned to Oajaca, where he was appointed *Promotor fiscal* (Solicitor General) of that State, in which capacity he remained until March, 1853, when the revolution that placed General Santa Anna in power expelled him as a liberal from his native city. Then he went to the city of Mexico, where he employed himself in practising his profession.

In 1856 he was elected by his State a member of the National Congress (or Convention) which made the Constitution of 1857. Mr. Marescal's name consequently

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appears as one of the deputies from Oajaca that signed said Constitution, now in vigor for the Republic.

During 1859 he was Supernumerary judge of the Supreme Court of Oajaca.

During 1860 he was Federal Judge for the circuit of the three States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, and Oajaca, the circuit judges in the Mexican Republic being distinct from those of the Supreme Court and next under them.

In 1861 and '62 he was Representative for Oajaca in the National Congress of that time.

Early in the same year, 1861, he had been appointed Counsellor (Asesor) of the Government for the execution of the laws of disamortization.

At the end of 1862, he was appointed by President Juarez (according to extraordinary powers received from Congress) Supernumerary Judge (Ministro Supernumerio) *ad interim* of the Supreme Court of the Republic.

At the beginning of 1863 he left the Supreme Court, being appointed Assistant Secretary of State *ad interim* by Señor Don Juan Antonio de la Fuente, then the Secretary. Mr. Marescal went in this capacity, with President Juarez and Cabinet, to San Luis Potosi, in May of that year ('63), on the approach of the French to the city of Mexico.

In August, Señor Fuente having left the cabinet, Mr. Marescal resigned his temporary office, and decided to come to the United States, as Secretary of the Mexican Legation, with Señor Fuente, who had just been appointed Minister Plenipotentiary for this country. He started from San Luis with Señor Fuente, and on their way, this gentleman had another appointment within the country, when Mr. Marescal went on to Matamoras, and in the same capacity he joined there Señor Romero, sent as an

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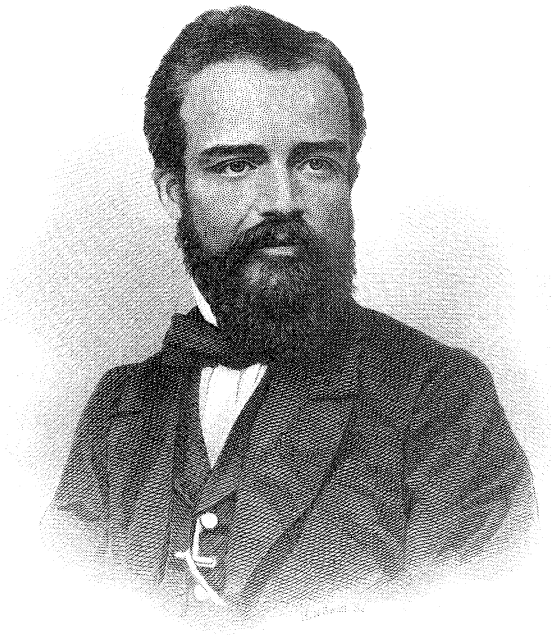

M. Romero.

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Envoy Extraordinary instead of Señor Fuente. Ever since, Mr. Marescal has been Secretary of the Mexican Legation, until his recent return to Mexico, and appointment as Minister of Justice.

DON MATIAS ROMERO, MINISTER OF THE TREASURY AND PUBLIC CREDIT.

The following is a faithful translation of a Biographical Sketch of Señor Romero, published in Geneva, Switzerland, 1865, by "an association of authors of different nations." It is issued in imperial folio, and designed to give an abstract of the general history of the eminent men of the nineteenth century, whose public life, actions, moral and political opinions are known from official and authentic documents.*

MATIAS ROMERO was born in the city of Oajaca, (called Antiquara by the Spaniards), the capital of the State of the Mexican Republic of the same name, on the 24th of February, 1837—a year memorable in the annals of Mexico.

"His parents sent him at a very early age to a primary school, but he was too young while he remained there to learn either to read or to write well. At the age of eight years he entered the Seminary-college of Oajaca, to study Latin. He remained there three years, and then entered the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Oajaca, a civil college of that State, where for three years longer he pursued the study of Philosophy. Philosophy, according to the curriculum of that time, comprised Logic, Metaphysics,

* The work is entitled, "L'Histoire Generale des hommes vivants, et des hommes morts, dans le dix-neuvième Siecle, dont la vie publique les œuvres, et les positions sociales peuvent être representées d'après les documents officiel, les memoires, et les autres escrits."

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Ethics, Ideology, simple Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Chronology, Geography, and Political Economy.

Having finished these preliminary studies, he commenced the study of Law in the same institute. He attended the courses of Natural Law, the Laws of Nations, Roman Law, Public Law, Principles of Legislation, Constitutional, Civil, Criminal, and Canonical Law, in all of which he bore away prizes and honors.

In 1853 Romero, having completed the study of Jurisprudence, went to the city of Mexico to practise his profession, and at the same time to enter himself as a Meritorio in the department of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic. His great aim was to serve his country in a diplomatic career, because it would afford him the advantage of foreign travel, for which he had always the most ardent desire.

On his arrival at Mexico, his first care was to see Don Benito Juarez, former Director of the Institute of Oajaca, and then Minister of Justice under the liberal administration of General Alvarez. He had just been inaugurated President, on the liberal plan proclaimed at Ayutla, which had overthrown the conservative administration of General Santa Anna.

Through the influence of Juarez, Romero entered as Meritorio in the Department of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this situation, while discharging the duties daily entrusted to him, he was indefatigable in informing himself thoroughly of the archives of the Department. At the same time, he attended the academy of theoretical and practical law established by the College of Counsellors of Mexico, as well as the Supreme Tribunal of Justice for the District of Mexico, the Secretary of which was also giving him instruction in practical law.

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After an experience of two years in this position, young Romero, at the age of twenty years, was admitted, on the 12th October, 1857,as an Attorney at Law, being a year younger than the laws of Mexico required, to entitle one to practice in the profession.

Shortly after he received his diploma, the revolution known as the "Plan of Tacubaya," fomented by the conservative party, was proclaimed in Mexico on the 17th of December, 1857. Seeing no prospect of obtaining an appointment in any legation, for want of political influence with the administration of Comonfort, Romero was preparing to return to Oajaca.

President Comonfort, who favored the revolution at first, afterwards opposed it. A large part of the forces who were in the capital opposed this disgraceful proceeding. The people flocked to defend the government and its existing institutions. Romero was one of the first to enrol himself for the defence of the constitutional government of the country. During the whole period of the campaign, he remained in the service as a volunteer, stationed at the old monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul, under the orders of the then Captain, afterwards General Zaragossa, who achieved the signal victory over the French at Puebla.

On the 24th of January, 1858, the revolutionary forces were successful. President Comonfort abandoned the city of Mexico, and the forces stationed at St. Peter's and St. Paul s were disbanded. Young Romero would not surrender himself as vanquished. With the characteristic perseverance of which he has given such proofs, with all the ardor and enthusiasm of youth, he made his way at great personal peril to the city of Guanajuato. Here Benito Juarez, ex-officio Vice-President of the Republic,

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had established the Constitutional Government, after the defection and flight of Comonfort. On his arrival in Guanajuato, Romero presented himself to Juarez, and asked that he might serve in the army. But the President believed that his services would be more valuable in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and appointed him Minister's Clerk.

It was but a short time before the government of Juarez was compelled to remove to Guadalajara. Romero was one of those who followed its fortunes—one of those who adhered to the President when made a prisoner by the insurgent Landa, when he learned, at Guadalajara, the loss of the battle of Salamanca—one also who encountered the greatest danger, by remaining with the President during his captivity, down to the time when all the prisoners were taken to the house of the French Consul, and there set at liberty.

The Constitutional Government afterwards withdrew from Guadalajara to Colima, and from Colima to Manzanilla, and from thence embarked for Vera Cruz by the way of the Isthmus of Panama. Romero was the only subordinate officer who accompanied the Government to Vera Cruz, although it was proposed to him that he might land at Acapulco and return to his own home at Oajaca. At Vera Cruz he performed the duties of private Secretary to Ocampo, the chief Minister of Juarez, and of the chief clerk of the several departments which that distinguished patriot had under his charge. In these varied duties, he gave new proofs of his versatility, his perseverance, and his industry. It was here that he was enabled to complete the first edition of his synoptical table of the treaties concluded by the Mexican Republic, which he had begun in the city of Mexico.* Here he won the

* See the Synoptical Table, Appendix.

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highest regard of the Minister Ocampo, who placed in him the greatest and most implicit confidence.

In December, 1859, when Ocampo withdrew for the first time from the Cabinet of Juarez, Romero was appointed Secretary of the Mexican Legation at Washington. On the 24th of the same month, he arrived at Washington, and was presented the same day to President Buchanan, and to General Cass, Secretary of State, and entered immediately upon the discharge of his duties.

On the 14th of August, 1860, Don José Maria Mata, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Mexico to the United States, returned to Mexico, and left Señor Romero as "Chargé d'Affaires" ad interim. On the 15th he was received in this new capacity by Mr. Trescott, Assistant Secretary of State, then in charge of the Department of State in the absence of General Cass. Romero continued in this position until May, 1862, when, during the first ministry of General Doblado, he was appointed "Chargé d'Affaires" in full. He thus remained at Washington until the 29th of April, 1863, when he received orders to return to Mexico.

The period during which Romero was in charge of the Mexican Legation at Washington, has been undoubtedly the most difficult in the annals of Mexican Diplomacy. The grave questions which arose in his country, were very numerous and very complicated—from the time of the capture of the Spanish barque "Maria Concepcion," down to the French intervention in Mexico. The labors of Romero during this difficult period may be estimated by the volumes of documents and correspondence which the government at Washington have published by order of Congress.*

* See a tabular view.

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The most ardent desire of Romero was to serve his country in the field, weapon in hand, for the defence of the independence of his countrymen. This he often signified to his government, but as the latter did not appoint a successor, Romero did not deem it right to leave the great interests of Mexico in the United States, at so critical a period, and did not ask permission to return to the Republic. But when afterwards he received instructions to leave Washington, he hastened to comply, committing the protection of Mexican citizens in the United States, to the care of the Minister Resident of Peru.

On his return to Mexico, Romero found the government established at San Luis Potosi. He there resigned the charge he held at Washington, and solicited enrolment in the military service against the invaders of his country. The President accepted his resignation with regret, gave him the commission of Colonel, with orders to report himself to Porfirio Diaz, General-in-Chief of the army of operations, head-quarters then at Acambaro. Romero and Diaz had been college companions and personal friends, and were greatly rejoiced to meet again, engaged together in the service of their country. Diaz appointed Romero chief of his staff.

In July, Romero accompanied the army of operations from Acambaro to Queretaro, and from thence he went alone to Leon, to engage General Uraga to accept service in the army, as second in command to General Diaz. At Leon, he saw for the first time General Doblado, then commanding the forces of Guanajuato. They had a full and cordial interchange of views, which subsequently was the origin of personal relations of the warmest friendship.

When Romero was on his return to Queratarо, Gene-

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ral Diaz sent him as a Commissioner for the General Government to San Luis Potosi. When he arrived in that city, he found the cabinet in the midst of a ministerial crisis. Señor Fuente, Minister of Foreign Affairs, had withdrawn from the Cabinet, and been nominated as Minister to the United States. General Doblado, who succeeded Fuente in the ministry, deemed it important that Fuente should remain, and named Romero as Minister at Washington, as the indispensable condition of his own continuance in the ministry.

Romero left San Luis Potosi, Sept. 3d, 1863, and Matamoras the 19th. He landed at Havana, and there took the steamer for New York. He was received by the President of the United States, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Mexican Republic, on the 29th of October, 1863, and has since continued to reside at Washington in the discharge of the duties of his mission.

From that time, his labors for his country assumed the most elevated and important character, and he has conducted them with the most distinguished ability. His indefatigable efforts to extend throughout the United States correct views of Mexican questions, to conciliate the most influential men of the Union, and secure their influence on the side of his country, are well known. His object has been to enlist the sympathies of the people of the United States in favor of the Mexicans, and to avail himself of other elements in the American Union, not only in aiding Mexico to extricate herself from the situation in which she is placed, and to come out victorious from her war with France, but still more in coöperating for the future prosperity and progress of the Repub-

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lic, the independence and stability of the Government, and for the development of the resources and the promotion of the highest welfare of the inhabitants, by uniting and identifying the common interests of the United States and Mexico.

These, however, are facts of history, which are not yet really in the province of contemporaneous biography.

The following tabular view of the work of Señor Romero during his ministry at Washington, is evidence enough of his indefatigable industry, and immense labors.

MILITARY COMMANDERS.

There has been a noble band of Military Commanders, who have stood true to their country and to the principles of the conflict, all through the war. A sketch of their lives and characters would be more appropriate in the military history subsequent to the adoption of the Constitution. It is not easy, at this distance, to obtain authentic data in regard even to many great important events, in the course of revolutions; much less, in regard to the incidents of individual lives. But such names, as Porfirio Diaz, Escobedo, Corona, Treviño, Regules and many others, are historic; and will go down to posterity on the rolls of the illustrious defenders of human rights.

General Don Porfirio Diaz is more widely known; and is greatly esteemed. He is of Spanish descent, a gentleman and a scholar, young, modest, refined, accomplished, and respected and honored by friends and foes.

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Statement of the material work accomplished by the Mexican Legation in Washington from August 15, 1860, *to December* 31, 1866.

Year.	Correspondence with the Department of State of Mexico.												Correspondence with the Department of State of the United States.										Correspondence with the consulates of Mexico in the United States, Mexican legations abroad, departments of the Mexican government, and other officials of Mexico.				Private letters on official and other subjects.			
	From the legation.						From the State Department of Mexico.						From the legation.					From the State Department of Washington.					From the legation.		To the legation.		From the legation.		To the legation.	
	Number of letters.			Enclosures.	Total.	Pages.	Number of letters.			Enclosures.	Total.	Pages.	Number of letters.			Pages.	Printed pages.	Number of letters.			Pages.		Number of letters and enclosures.	Pages.	Number of letters and enclosures.	Pages.	Number of letters.	Pages.	Number of letters.	Pages.
	Official.	Confidential	Total.				Official.	Confidential	Total.				Official.	Enclosures.	Total.			Official.	Enclosures.	Total.										
1860..	93	10	103	49	152	754	66	14	80	10	90	190	7	2	9	13	.....	4	2	6	8		46	59	51	74	201	516	193	507
1861..	392	38	430	212	642	4,053	300	41	341	43	384	875	55	102	157	814	125	42	19	61	72		182	231	193	260	741	1,192	698	1,038
1862..	421	8	429	472	901	4,381	106	10	116	15	131	681	61	192	253	1,834	463	32	8	40	57		160	211	176	248	908	2,524	1,019	2,635
1863..	184	..	184	304	488	1,369	52	..	52	6	58	201	32	83	115	793	164	38	10	48	69		68	119	69	137	489	1,091	421	903
1864..	333	..	333	365	698	2,068	74	..	74	9	83	120	64	151	215	1,181	437	58	55	113	190		221	309	237	343	1,297	2,916	1,369	2,987
1865..	705	..	705	865	1,570	4,497	470	..	470	63	533	1,212	121	320	441	1,975	474	65	17	82	109		331	415	343	471	1,816	3,189	1,774	3,927
1866..	903	..	903	1,289	2,192	6,678	552	..	552	74	626	1,555	136	394	530	2,338	909	115	18	133	216		293	385	310	418	1,978	3,492	1,991	4,681
Total.	3,031	56	3,087	3,556	6,643	23,791	1,620	65	1,685	220	1,905	4,834	476	1,244	1,720	8,948	2,572	354	129	483	721		1,301	1,729	1,379	1,951	7,430	14,920	4,057	16,678

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AGGREGATE STATEMENT OF WORK.

	Letters and enclosures to—	Pages.	Letters and enclosures from—	Pages.
Department of State of Mexico	6,643	23,791	1,905	4,834
Departm't of State of the United States.	1,720	8,948	483	721
Consulates, legations, &c., &c.	1,301	1,729	4 379	1,951
Private letters	7,430	14,920	7,405	16,678
Total	17,094	49,388	11,172	24,184

GRAND TOTALS.

	Letters and enclosures.	
	Number.	Pages.
From the legation	17,094	49,388
To the legation	11,172	24,184
	28,266	73,572

"This correspondence is contained in 45 large bound volumes, as follows: Correspondence to the State Department of Mexico, 24 volumes; from that Department, 5 volumes; to the State Department at Washington, 7 volumes; from the Washington State Department, 2 volumes; to and from different Mexican officials, 3 volumes; and private letters received, 4 volumes.

"The year 1860 can be taken as an average of the ordinary work of the Legation in normal times. During all the time embraced in the preceding statement, Mr. Romero has been at the head of the Mexican legation. He arrived in Washington on the 24th of December, 1859, as Secretary of Legation, José M. Mata being then the minister. On the 14th of August, 1860, Mr. Mata left New York for Vera Cruz, accrediting Mr. Romero as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* to the State Department. Mr. Romero presented his letters of credence on the 16th to Mr. William Henry Trescott, Assistant Secretary of State, then Acting Secretary. On the 26th of May, 1862, Mr. Romero presented his credentials to the Department of State as chargé d'affaires near the government of the United

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States, they being signed by General Doblado, minister of foreign affairs of Mexico, on the 3d of April. On the 23d of April, 1863, Mr. Romero notified Mr. Seward that he had received a leave of absence, of which he would avail himself. He took leave of President Lincoln on the 27th; left Washington on the next day, and New York on the 16th of May following.

"Mr. Romero returned to New York on the 23d of October, 1863, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from Mexico to the United States, and presented his credentials to President Lincoln on the 29th of the same month, having since remained in Washington in that character.

"Out of 2,155 days that Mr. Romero has been in the United States (counting five full years, 139 days in 1860 and 190 in 1863), he has only spent out of Washington, and always on official business, 306 days, as follows: in 1860, 6; in 1861, 31; in 1862, 36; in 1863, 29; in 1864, 96; in 1865, 89; and in 1866, 19; having passed in Washington 1,849 days.

"While Mr. Romero was acting as chargé d'affaires he only had one attaché to the legation; Mr. Mariano Degollado first, and Mr. J. Escobar y Armendariz afterwards. He was at some intervals alone. Since he returned as full minister, he has had two or three assistants, Mr. Mariscal having been during all that time the secretary of legation.

"The total number of official interviews which Mr. Romero had with the Secretary of State, the Hon. William H. Seward, from the 2d of September, 1861, to the 31st of December, 1866, is 109, as follows: As chargé d'affaires (to the 23d of May, 1863), 63; as minister (from the 27th of October, 1863), 46; and 26 with the President of the United States on official business, as follows: with President Buchanan, 3; with President Lincoln, 15; with President Johnson, 8; total, 135.

"During the two years and a half that the Republican government of Mexico was in the State of Chihua-

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hua, their communication with the Republic and the outer world was entirely cut off, and they depended upon their legation at Washington to hear from the central, southern, and eastern parts of Mexico, from the United States, and Europe. All the mails for the Mexican government, including newspapers for President Juarez and his cabinet, had to be sent to Mr. Romero, the duties of the legation increasing thereby considerably, as it was necessary to keep an active correspondence with several Mexican generals in the field, and with friends of Mexico in France and other places in Europe and in South America. Besides this, and the regular functions of a minister, Mr. Romero has been charged with the purchase of arms and munitions of war, the chartering of steamers to carry to Mexico the war material, the printing of Mexican bonds and the negotiation of them in the market, and the making of contracts for several other purposes, the circulation of the official paper of the Mexican government, &c., &c.

"The appreciation by the United States government of Mr. Romero's correspondence, is shown by the fact that Congress has often asked the President in a special manner for Mr. Romero's letters, and the President has sent, out of 489 letters which Mr. Romero has addressed to the State Department, 371, in the following manner: of 1861, 27; 1862, 35; 1863, 21; 1864, 54; 1865, 115; 1866, 119. Total number of enclosures sent to Congress and published, 1,204.

"The total number of messages on Mexican affairs sent by the President to Congress during the time embraced in the preceding statement is 27, as follows: in 1862, 3; in 1863, 4; in 1864, 1; in 1865, 3; and in 1866, 16.

"EULALIO DEGOLLADO, JR.,
"*Private Secretary.*

"WASHINGTON, *February* 24, 1867."

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PART V.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION FROM A FRENCH POINT OF VIEW.

CHAPTER I.

"MEXICO AS IT IS,—THE TRUTH," ETC. BY THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.*

It will facilitate an understanding of our subject, to consider the statements and views of the author of this volume. Although, in the order of time, they will anticipate events in the narrative, and will make allusions to individuals and incidents that need to be described, still they furnish important incidental confirmation of the descriptions thus far given on other authority. The testimony from this source, in regard to the character of the "church," and of its organization, influence, and policy, will not be questioned. The work shows clearly the part the ecclesiastical power has taken in the revolutions and struggles of Mexico; and the animus it breathes towards the United States,—the government and the people,—if it reflects the feelings of the French Government and Foreign Powers, is, to say the least, suggestive.

The Chaplain of the Empire.

The "Abbé Emmanuel Domenech, Senior Director of the press of the Cabinet of H. M.

* "Le Mexique, tel qui'l est, La vérité sur son climate, ses habitants, et son gouvernement, par Emmanuel Domenech, ancien Directeur de la presse du cabinet de S. M. L'Empereur Maximilian, et ex-aumonier du corps expeditionnaire."

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the Emperor Maximilian, and ex-chaplain of the expeditionary corps," published in Paris, in 1867, a work of 348 pages, entitled "Mexico as it is,—the truth respecting its climate, its inhabitants, and its government."

Mexico from a French point of view.

This volume professes to give to the people of France, and of Europe, a truthful account of the author's personal observation and knowledge of Mexico and its inhabitants. The first sentence is, "Since *our* intervention in Mexico, the published accounts in the European press, of the political situation of this Empire, are so contradictory, that it is impossible to distinguish the true from the false. The prejudices of some, the party spirit of others, the official or private interests of all, and inadequate and superficial information, have so distorted the truth that it cannot be seen."

OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

"In my double career as a man of letters and a journalist, since 1856, I have so defended the Mexicans, that I shall not be suspected of partiality if, in this work, I speak of them less favorably. The truth must stand before sympathy."

Mexican character.

"The Mexican of to-day has his faults, which irritate and provoke us, and discourage his best friends. Nevertheless his faults, his vices, if you please, diminish enormously in their characteristic importance, if we compare the types of each class of Mexican society with corresponding classes in our old Europe. We are far from being perfect ourselves. Foreign literature, as well as our own, proves this enough by its exhibition of our faults. If we see motes in our neighbors' eyes, there are beams in our own. It is well for us, then, to be more modest and more reserved in our criticisms."

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French impartiality.

"Far from flattering the Mexicans, their country, and their government, I shall paint them in the most unfavorable colors, in order to show that I have not hesitated to explore and to study the most hideous plagues of this poor people. I shall speak of the past, because of its effects upon the present. I shall not pass over any of the complaints, whether just or not, which for two or three years have been made against Mexico. In acting thus, I hope to secure more consideration for my views, stamped always with the seal of a most rigid impartiality."

"I do not design to give a complete picture of the manners and customs of the Mexicans. I shall content myself with citing only those facts which have most impressed me, and which justify my conclusions."

A country of contrasts.

"The narrative will contain many apparent contradictions. Mexico being so singularly a country of contrasts, it will be difficult to bear constantly in mind the distinction in the classes of society to which my praises or censures relate. I shall confine myself as much as possible to facts, and allow them to speak for themselves."

"In this way I shall be the better shielded from the attacks of those who do not share my views. Every one will draw such inferences as he pleases from the picture, and form his own opinion of a country, so little known as Mexico."

The Chaplain's tour and objects.

"I left Paris in 1864, for the purpose of studying, in Mexico, the institutions of the new Empire, of sketching the political portraits of the new men, of comparing the Mexicans of the interior with those of the north and of the frontiers; and the Indian races with those of the United States."

"I regret that I am not able to correct all the prejudices, exaggerations, and errors which have been published

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about Mexico, its inhabitants, its riches, beauty, etc., or to give the details of the number of its churches and convents, their architecture and ornamentation."

"My principle is, that *truth* injures only him who speaks it: it is often useful to those who hear it. My pen is my capital. I write as much from necessity as from inclination. Whether from conscience or from idleness, I shall not take pains to invent, but write only the truth. No one pays me to disguise or falsify it."

Design and importance of the Book.

Such are the avowed objects, principles, and views of the author. How far his work corresponds with such an avowal, the sequel will perhaps show. When one in an important and responsible official position, *near two Thrones, addresses the Powers and people of Europe in behalf of a great movement, affecting the interests of modern civilization in both hemispheres*, for the express purpose of removing false impressions, and forming a correct public opinion throughout Christendom, and professes to have thoroughly investigated the facts, and to understand the whole history and philosophy of the subject, avows the most conscientious and sacred allegiance to truth and impartiality, and is fairly presumed to know more than he tells, the chief significance of the work arises from its "quasi authority," its chief importance from the nature, extent, and effect of the influence it is intended to exert.

The Book, not its author, judged.

In this view it is not the *author*, but the *book*, of which we speak. As much as it is to be regretted that the Abbé were not better informed, and that he had not employed his pen in the service of humanity, in the promotion of the principles of universal justice and freedom, of the equal and inalienable rights of nations and of men, we disavow in the outset all intended personality in respect to the *author*, and confine ourselves to the ex-

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amination and exhibition of the statements, views, and teachings of the *book*.

Its scope.

What it says of *things* concerns us little. What it says of *men* and *principles*—of Mexicans, and races, of their character, condition, and rights; of Americans, of the United States, its government, laws, policy, and public men; of the plans and purposes of European powers in regard to the Western hemisphere; of modern civilization, of international intercourse, commerce, and *comity*, concerns all mankind. And to this only is our attention directed.

GENERAL CONTENTS OF THE BOOK.

The volume describes:

Analysis of the Work.

1. The country its geography, physical features, climate, soil, productions, its unrivalled resources and capabilities, and its industrial and commercial interests.

2. Its population, its institutions, social, moral, and political condition, the different races and classes, the various political and ecclesiastical parties and interests.

3. The intervention, its origin, causes, and objects; its measures, and the principal actors in its history; the Empire, Maximilian, his court, cabinet, and policy; and the causes and consequences of the failure.

4. It omits altogether any account of the connection of the English and Spanish Governments with the enterprise, and ignores all their co-operation in it. From the French standpoint, it speaks of it as "*our intervention.*"

5. It accords to the French Government the honor of this, the grandest enterprise of the century, and the absolute and indisputable right to direct and control it.

6. It gives no history of moral or military move-

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ments or events, and but brief and passing allusions to the Belgian, Austrian, and French elements in the campaign.

7. It dwells especially upon the character of the Mexicans—their political, civil, religious, social, and domestic institutions; the "church party," their interests and policy; and the troubles and revolutions of the last forty years.

8. It represents the bulk of the population as divided into *three classes*—the first, the clerical or conservative party; the second, the radical republican reform party; and the third, an intermediate one, the liberal party, vibrating between the other two.

9. It declares that nine-tenths of the entire population adhere to the clerical party, embracing all the intelligent, wealthy, and respectable portion of the community; that it embodies the only sound principles of government, law, or order, and that its ascendency is essential to the preservation of the existence of the nation, and of its prosperity in all that concerns the welfare of society.

10. It declares that the fundamental principle of Monarchy is the only form of government for Mexico, and is the distinctive rallying point of this party; that it is inwrought in the very constitution of the Mexican mind, underlies all the national traditions, and is supported by an overwhelming majority of the people.

11. That the movement for the establishment of a monarchy, with a foreign Prince upon the throne, originated with this party; was submitted to the Courts and Cabinets of Europe many years since; that the intervention was the result, and this same party called Maximilian and placed him on the throne.

The sixth chapter is devoted to the "religious condition of Mexico, the clergy, false religion, superstition, reli-

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gious ceremonies, the fair of the dead, and the sale of the ecclesiastical property."

The eighth treats of the intervention, the opposition of the Mexicans, the consequences of its failure, and the monarchists.

The eleventh discusses the political parties of the country.

The twelfth is an exposition of the author's views of the relations of the Mexican question to the future of Europe, and of France in particular. Entirely in the interest of the intervention and the Empire, *it professes to enlighten Europe in respect to the character, the real issues and interests of the conflict.* It exhibits also the author's views of Mexican and American public sentiment and policy.

CONTENTS OF CHAPTER XII.

The titles of this chapter are, "The Mexican Question, little understood in Europe. Summary statement. American policy. Tactics of Mr. Seward. The Monroe doctrine, its origin, application, and consequences. Opinions of American writers opposed to the Monroe Doctrine, and to the policy of Mr. Johnson. French opinions of the Mexican Question. Embarrassment of the United States on account of this Question. Opinions of Mexicans upon the actual situation. The importance of our expedition to the future of our commerce, and of our influence. Conclusion."

The whole animus and influence of this volume are entirely in character with the assiduous and persistent efforts of the interventionists, by the daily press, pamphlets, and volumes, *to mould public opinion in France, and in Europe, unfavorably to the character and rights of Mexicans and Americans*, and to justify and strengthen

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the policy and the acts of that foreign combination, naval, military, political and ecclesiastical; to overthrow the institutions of this continent; and to transplant here, in order to perpetuate at home, the European system of civil and religious despotism.

The signal failure of the scheme, and the reaction which has already begun to "plague its inventors," render it perhaps not less desirable that Americans should understand what the enemies of free institutions have been doing, and who are their real friends abroad.

Mexican estimate of the Work.

It is not surprising that a Mexican gentleman, high in official position and in the confidence of his countrymen, characterizes the work as "a libel against Mexicans, that shows the disposition of the French (the author a French Abbé) against the Mexican patriots, and their despite in consequence of their failure. It is written in the interests of the bitterest Church partisans."

CHURCHES AND CONVENTS.

Mexico a monastic state.

"Mexico," says the Abbé, "under Spanish rule, was eminently a monastic State. Not only three-fifths of the cities were occupied with convents and churches, but there were convents, like that of San Francisco at Mexico, and that of Santa Clara at Queretaro, which occupied a large part of the city. I do not speak of the fabulous riches of these churches. I think it right that the temples of God should be better adorned than the apartments of a stock-broker. But is it not a lie to God and men, to make a vow of poverty, and then live in the midst of abundance and comfort, as the ecclesiastics of all Spanish America do?"

The Churches.

"Much has been said of the splendor of the Mexican churches, and of their immense riches.

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But all that, is only a story which demonstrates the pious liberality of the Spaniards, and the rapacious sacrilege of the liberal Mexicans. These last have stolen that which the others had given."

Wealth and pillage of the Church.

"In the late revolutions, the Mexicans have taken away more than two hundred millions of value, in gold, silver, and precious stones, which the Spaniards had accumulated in their churches since the conquest!"

"The Cathedral of Mexico possessed a massive silver lamp, so large that three men entered within, to clean it. The liberals have cleaned it out, so thoroughly, that nothing of it is left. It would take a long list to enumerate the objects of historic interest of this kind, which have in like manner disappeared."

"If the country has profited by considerable sums thus produced by the plunder of the churches, it is sad to see a nation obliged to resort to such extremities, to relieve its finances. But as it is only a few individuals who have enriched themselves, by these precious spoils, it is right to condemn such acts of vandalism. To-day there are only the ruins and fragments of the profusion of former splendors."

"The Mexican loves his dollars, and keeps them. He has taken or destroyed the heritage of the Spaniards; he has restored nothing, improved nothing, even in a religious point of view. The 'votive offerings,' which even in Europe, have sometimes considerable value, are limited in Mexico to microscopic objects in silver, bought at the maker's for two or three francs."

MEXICANS NOT CATHOLICS.

Mexicans not Catholics.

"Besides, the Mexican is not a Catholic; he is simply a Christian, because he has been baptized.

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I speak of the masses, and not of numerous exceptions to be met with, in all classes of society."

"I say that Mexico is not a Catholic country:

"I. Because a majority of the native population are semi-idolators.

"II. Because the majority of the Mexicans carry ignorance of religion to such a point, that they have no other worship than that of form. It is materialism without a doubt. They do not know what it is to worship God in spirit and in truth, according to the Gospel.

"III. Because the clergy themselves, in general, have little education, know very little of Theology, and appear to be ignorant of the canonical laws, and of the decrees of the Councils."

Absence of Christian virtues.

"Charity and humility are the very foundations, the touchstone of Catholicism. The Mexican professes but little enthusiasm for these virtues, notwithstanding that, without them, Catholicism becomes a sheer human religion, making Divinity only a pretext and motive of action, but stricken with sterility, rejected of God."

Simony and concubinage.

"If the Pope should abolish all Simoniacal livings, and excommunicate all the priests having concubines, the Mexican clergy would be reduced to a very small affair. Nevertheless, there are some worthy men among them, whose conduct as priests is irreproachable."

Some good priests.

"Notwithstanding the bad examples of the fraternity, the number of good priests is not so small as has been reported. From Vera Cruz to Mexico, at San Luis Potosi, and at Durango, I have seen those of whom nothing but good could be said, and whose conversation has been instructive to me. Their want of education and

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culture, their merely local ideas, render them little esteemed by those accustomed to the French clergy, whose apostolic walk and conversation edify all the world."

CHARACTER OF THE PRIESTHOOD.

Frankness and impartiality.

"On the religious question, I shall use the same frankness as in the political, moral, and material, which make Mexico a peculiar country, unlike any other. I shall not conceal the evil which is reported, nor that which I know, in order that I may have the right to correct the exaggerations of the malevolent, of the hasty, and of partisan faultfinders.

"In all questions, it is not enough to relate the evil and the good, to establish the facts which reveal the actual situation, little understood. It is necessary to show the remedy. I shall show it."

Character of the Priesthood.

"In all Spanish America there are found, among the priests, the veriest wretches—knaves deserving the gallows—men who make an infamous traffic of religion. Mexico has her share of these wretches. Whose fault is it? In the past it has been Spanish manners—climate. In the present it is the Episcopate. If the bishops had good seminaries, where pupils could receive a sound and serious education; if the bishops had more energy; if they were more cautious in the choice of candidates for the priesthood; if they required others to observe, and *observed themselves*, more scrupulously, the canonical laws of the church, they would not see the disorders of which they are now the first to complain."

"Notwithstanding the decrees of the Council of Trent, pastoral visits are scarcely known in Mexico. I know they have been difficult and dangerous since the indepen-

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dence; but if the Episcopate does not give the example of devotion and self-denial, who will give it?"

Mexican aversion to the Priests.

"The Mexicans have cried out loudly against their clergy. But it has not been so much on account of their manner of life, as because they wished to take possession of their property. Before returning to this subject, I ought to say, we ought not to be too pharisaical in our condemnations. Among the twelve apostles, Jesus Christ chose one Judas, in order to show us that nothing is perfect on earth, and that we ought not to be offended at the apostasy of certain ministers of God. This very apostasy exalts and demonstrates the divinity of Catholicism, which maintains and develops itself in spite of the failings of certain of its priests."

"The Mexican clergy have, perhaps, more than one Judas for twelve apostles, but that is a matter more of pity than of blame."

Clerical habits.

"If Italy and Spain were visited before going to Mexico, there would be less of a shock at the manner of life of the Mexican clergy. Do not individuals as well as communities bear the stamp of the country where they live? I recollect a case in point, where a French priest was greatly astonished, while in Mexico, that the pastor of a church where he had said mass, offered him a cigarette after the mass. The pastor, in turn, was much scandalized that our priest allowed the train of his cassock to drag upon the ground, a thing unknown elsewhere than in France; and that he arranged his hair before a mirror in the vestry, before and after robing!"

Life among the Priests.

"I have known, in the south and in the north of the Mexican empire, pastors who gave balls at their houses, and never thought the least in the world,

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that it would be better to distribute bread to the poor than to give champagne and refreshments to their danseuses."

Celibacy! and paternity.

"The clergy carry their love of the family to that of paternity. In my travels in the interior of Mexico, many pastors have refused me hospitality, in order to prevent my seeing their *neices* and *cousins*, and their *children*. It is difficult to determine the character of these connexions. Priests who are recognized as fathers of families are by no means rare. The people consider it natural enough, and do not rail at the conduct of their pastors, excepting when they are not contented with one wife."

"One of my friends said to the mistress of a pastor, 'Are you not afraid of going to hell? And have you no remorse at living, as a wife, with a man who says mass every day?'

"'Sir,' she replied, with anger, 'I would have you know I am a respectable woman, and that I would not live with the pastor if we had not been lawfully married.'"

"In the State of Oajaca there are priests who marry, in order not to scandalize any one. Although this celibacy of the priests *is purely an ecclesiastical institution*, I do not see how these gentlemen can contract marriages, pretended to be legitimate."

Priests' wives.

"A woman of Oajaca, whom I questioned about these singular unions, said to me one day, 'My country women prefer to live with Priests rather than with the laity, because they are better provided for.' The poor creatures are so wretched, they prefer to seek a house where they are sure to find good clothing and good food."

"Nevertheless, the Priest and the woman are not dishonored. They are respected if they live happily together.

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Clerical Fueros.

"One day a merchant came to the wife of a Priest of the Diocese of X, to demand pay for a robe which she had bought: 'I have no money,' she said, 'you must wait.'

"'I will not wait any longer,' replied the merchant; 'if you do not pay me now immediately, I will summon you before the court.'

"'Try it,' said the woman. 'Do you know that I belong to the sacred mitre?'

"All who belong to the house of the Bishop deem themselves under special protection.

"Some of the Bishops complain of this state of things, but take no pains to change it; others encourage it, with remarkable good humor.

Holy Fathers.

"I remember that one of these prelates, passing through a village near the Episcopal city, the Priest said to him, 'Sire, have the goodness to bless my children and their mother.'

"The good Bishop blessed them. There was a chamber full.

"Another did better still. He baptzied the child of one of his Priests. Can a clergy of such character make saints? I doubt. Nevertheless, they must not be taken for heretics."

THE ABBÊ A REFORMER.

Call for reform.

"In order to change this deplorable state of things, it would be necessary to establish in Mexico one or more seminaries, under the care of French Sulpiciens. No person should be ordained a Priest unless presented by the directors of the seminaries. It would be equally necessary that the Pope should send to Mexico an intelligent and wise *French* Ambassador, to induce

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the Bishops to reform their clergy, and to adopt measures for this result. An *Italian* ambassador would employ himself forever in the religious politics, the honorary and property interests of the clergy, which must not be confounded with the interests of the church. As to the honor and dignity of religion, the purity and integrity of the worship of God, *the Italians are never concerned.*"

Character of the Bishops.

"The most honored of the Bishops dream more about their privileges and prerogatives, than the improvement of the flock entrusted to their charge. In the few institutions which have only the form and name of a seminary, they permit the teaching of a false theology, which only perverts the mind and conscience of the future priest."

State of the Church.

"The Christian spirit, that is to say, of love of one's neighbor, of poverty, of humility, of zeal for the salvation of souls, of self-abnegation, are so many virtues which the Mexican clergy never learn. So that the Priests go forth with the most erroneous and absurd ideas of morality, and of Catholic truth. They administer the first communion and the rite of confirmation to children of five or six years of age, who have received no instruction, and know not what they do. They make merchandise of the Sacraments, and make money by every religious ceremony, without thinking that they are guilty of simony, and expose themselves to the censures of the church. If Roman justice had its course in Mexico, *one-half* of the Mexican clergy would be excommunicated."

A deplorable picture.

"The well-instructed Priests, disinterested and animated by a truly apostolical spirit, holy souls, whose religious sentiments are of good character, constitute an insignificant minority. Mexican faith is a dead faith. The abuse of external ceremonies, the facility of reconcil-

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ing the Devil with God, the absence of internal exercises of piety, *have killed the faith* in Mexico. It is in vain to seek good fruit from this worthless tree, which makes Mexican religion a singular assemblage of heartless devotion, shameful ignorance, insane superstition, and hideous vice. In vain you seek in this country, called Catholic, houses of refuge for the aged and indigent, for penitents fallen through betrayal and misery, or for works of benevolence and mercy, of which there are so many in Europe. You find here no gatherings of ladies of wealth, to work together for the children of the poor."

Faith dead in Mexico.

"In Mexico faith inspires nothing, invents nothing, it does not even imitate. It is a fossil. To visit the poor is a thing never thought of. Sometimes the remains of a repast are given away. On Saturdays, alms are given to the beggar. But to comfort, in his domicile, the infirm, the sick, the dying, in their misery, alas! Mexican pride does not permit it."

IDOLATRY.

Idolatry and abominations.

"The idolatrous character of Mexican Catholicism is a fact well known to all travellers. The worship of Saints and Madonnas so absorbs the devotion of the people, that little time is left to think about God. Religious ceremonies are performed with a most lamentable indifference and want of decorum. The church chants and music are atrocious, really infernal. The Indians go to hear mass with their poultry and vegetables, which they are carrying to market. I have had to abandon the Cathedral of Mexico, where I used to go every morning, because I could not collect my thoughts there. The gobble of turkeys, the crowing of cocks, the barking of dogs, the mewing of cats, the chirping of birds in their nests in the ceiling, and the

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flea-bites, rendered meditation impossible to me, unaccustomed to live in such a menagerie."

"It would require volumes to relate the Indian superstitions of an idolatrous character which exist to this day. For want of serious instruction, you find in the Catholicism of the Indians numerous remains of the old Aztec paganism."

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

Devotional dance and masquerade.

"One day I was present at an Indian dance, celebrated in honor of the Patron Saint of the village. Twenty-four girls and twenty-four boys were dancing in the church, in the presence of the priest. An Indian, with his face concealed under a mask of an imaginary divinity resembling the Devil, with horns and claws, was directing the figures of the dance, which reminded me of that of the 'Red Skins.' I remarked to the priest, who, for all that, was an excellent priest, that it was very incongruous to permit such a frolic in a church."

"'The old customs,' he replied, 'are respectable; it is well to preserve them, only taking care that they do not degenerate into orgies.'

No Christian instruction.

"Notwithstanding the simple faith of the Indians, it is evident that they have only the tattered shreds of Catholicism. These shreds are better than absolute destitution. But with tact, disinterestedness, and truly Christian instruction, these Indians would make the best Catholics in the world."

"The religious customs of the Mexicans are scarcely less of our times, than are those of the Indians. They lead to the most ridiculous absurdity, to say nothing more."

A sad spectacle.

"During holy week, I have seen processions of three thousand persons stripped and covered

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only with sackcloth, so coarse as to show that the individual had not even a shirt. The different phases of the passion of Christ were represented by groups of painted statues, large as life, and by men and women placed upon stages, borne on the shoulders of hundreds of Indians. The bearers, bending under the weight of their burden, would go, from time to time, to refresh themselves at the liquor shops, leaving in the middle of the street, the groups representing the Passion. Jews and Romans, decked with helmets of tin plate, breastplates of pasteboard, and breeches embroidered with silver, made a part of the procession."

"In some cities, there are a great many processions. I remember an instance, in which I saw the Romans in one procession, intoxicated by the Zouaves, attack the Jews in another procession, who were passing the same street at the same time. The Jews left the Cross and the Madonnas they were bearing, and gave the Romans such a drubbing that they bore the marks of it many a day."

"There are cities where they pay a poor Indian to personate Judas, and allow the whole crowd of the 'faithful' to spit in his face during the whole day."

Christmas Eve almost incredible.

"The mysteries of the middle ages are utterly outdone by the burlesque ceremonies of the Mexicans. The accouchement of the Virgin on Christmas night appears to me indecent. In France, the police would forbid the ceremony, as a shock to public morals. But public morality being a thing unknown in Mexico, the custom of representing the accouchement of the Virgin in many of the churches offends no one. No father of a family objects to taking his daughter to see the procession, where Mary appears, *enciente*, marching round the church. After the procession, the Priest takes from beneath the

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skirts of the Virgin the infant Jesus, in swaddling bands, who is first placed upon the altar, and then marched around the church. In the diocese of Puebla, the color and figure of the infant, and the manner of holding it, made our troops think that the man, who carried the child was a musician; accustomed to march with an ophicleide and streaming ribbons."

Burial of the dead.

"Modesty of soul is an exotic plant that does not thrive in Mexico. It withers and dies before it is born. In Europe, the Catholic church has such respect for the body of man sanctified by its sacraments, that it blesses even the earth that receives; the mortal remains of a Christian. In Mexico, man is buried like an unclean animal, without priest, ceremony, or prayer. Four men, relatives or friends, bear the body on a bier or a hurdle, and lay it in a ditch."

"Being one day at Notre Dame de Guadalupe, I saw borne in upon a cross made of two planks, the dead body of a man covered with a sheet. After some prayers repeated in haste, the cloth was removed and the body entirely exposed. It was then placed in a corner of the church, awaiting its interment. If there had been any women near me, I believe I should have made a scene with that sacristan, so indignant was I at his want of propriety."

Burial of infants.

"The custom is well-known of decorating dead infants, adorning them with the wings of geese, paper crowns, ribbons and flowers, then marching them about on a chair, or laid upon a table, and burying them with the noise of fire-crackers and the sound of instruments playing polkas and quadrilles."

Speculation in dead bodies.

"In Mexico, as well as in the interior of the empire, I have seen more revolting things

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than these. The '*pulque*' merchants hire dead bodies, called '*angelitos*,' as a means of attracting customers. At first they pray, then they drink; and the young girls make appointments with their paramours. The dead body often thus serves several merchants, and is not interred as long as it can be endured."

MEXICAN FAIR FOR THE DEAD.

The idea of death.

"The idea of death has no terror to Mexicans. They die with as much indifference as they live. In Mexico, 'All-Saints Day' should be called the 'Fair for the Dead.'' It is the 'New Year's day' of the country. The shops are in holiday dress. Merchants of bon-bons and cakes, the theatres, marionettes, &c., are all alive. This *fair* lasts eight days. In the shops you see death's heads in sugar, jointed skeletons, cadavers in spring boxes, catafalques in miniature, the tombs of bishops and priests with weeping women around. Every good Mexican attends this *fair*. A lover buys for his maiden a death's head in sugar, as big as your *fist*. A mother buys for her child a complete burial scene. The husband regales his wife with a sepulchre in black and white. Every one goes home as happy as possible. Gayety and folly! Little gifts cherish friendships. And these gracious presents foster this strange indifference to death."

The marriage ceremony.

"One of the greatest evils in Mexico is the exorbitant fee for the marriage ceremony. The priests compel the poor to live without marriage, by demanding for the nuptial benediction, a sum that a Mexican mechanic, with his slender wages, can scarcely accumulate in fifty years of the strictest economy. This is no exaggeration. The consequences of the excessive demands for perquisites in general, are as lamentable to public mo-

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rality as to religion. One of the first duties of the Mexican Episcopate should be, in my opinion, to reduce the fee for baptisms, marriages, dispensations, and everything else indispensable to the performance of religious duties."

"Formerly the monks of the Church of Buffa, situated on one of the highest eminences of Zacatecas, performed the marriage ceremony for a more moderate fee than the priests in the city. The poor of course naturally went, for economy's sake, to be married at the chapel on the mountain, rather than in the parish church. But if the fee was small, still there was a fee. If the parties had not a crown, as there is no credit in Mexico since the independence, they pawned their little jackasses, and left them with the monks. The sacristie became a novel pawn-broker's shop. The asses being somewhat bulky on deposit, and expensive withal, when strolling about doing nothing, the monks put them to service in carrying water to Zacatecas, from a spring near the chapel. It being the only good water there, they sold it at two sous a load. The asses not reclaimed, and multiplying, the sacristan has continued the religious industry of the order; and the water has yielded more than a million of francs since the traffic began."

A Sunday market.

"One Sunday, a market-day at Zacatecas, I was noticing from my balcony, the crowd of buyers and sellers. The exhalations from their tattered dresses quite overcame me. The noise of the market men and women, in calling attention, and praising their articles, was deafening beyond expression. But the exhibition of dress and of manners so attracted my attention, that I could not but stay, in spite of the noise and the smells. Some were killing the vermin from their clothes or persons with their vegetables—a frightful massacre.

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Others were taking off shirts and skirts, to leave at the pawn-brokers. The details which I saw it would be impossible to imagine. I will not describe them. They must be seen, to be believed."

"At the stroke of the clock from the cathedral tower, to announce that the priest chanting mass was elevating "The Host," every outcry ceased as by enchantment. Absolute silence followed the tumult. Hats off, the whole crowd fell upon their knees until the third stroke of the bell told the end of the elevation."

The amulet against law-suits, &c.

"The Mexicans do not like to be embroiled in the law. So they often recite the prayer of Montserrato, which I have seen attached to the doors of a multitude of houses in the haciendas, ranches, and villages of the interior. At the head of the prayer are these lines:

"This prayer contains so much virtue, that those who recite it, shall never be exposed to the law; their house shall never be visited by the police; the wife who wears it around her neck shall always be happily delivered."

"It is almost impossible to photograph the moral, political, and religious phases of the Mexicans. The contrasts, the amalgamation of good and evil, the puerilities of big children, are so strange they would scarcely be believed."

"The observations I have made of the religious sentiments of the Mexicans are not confined to the ignorant classes. *They apply equally to those who are well to do.*"

Social and political questions.

"To close this subject," says the Abbé, "I must frankly enter upon the politico-religious question, which is of such vital, such exceptional importance in Mexico. Whatever may be the consequence of speaking of the clergy as I have done, I have not hesitated to do it, that

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I may not be suspected of partiality when I take up the social and political questions that belong to them."

OPPOSITION TO THE EMPIRE.

Bishops and Clergy for the Empire.

"The opposition of the Mexican clergy to the Empire has been greatly exaggerated and misrepresented. The entire body of the bishops and the clergy were in favor of the government of Maximilian. Their sympathies were alienated, only when the government ratified and carried out the policy and course of Juarez in ecclesiastical matters. The clergy then simply said, 'If the two governments pursue the same policy, we prefer a national government of our own to foreign domination.'"

The policy of Juarez adopted by Maximilian.

"I have conversed often, and at length, with most all of the bishops of Mexico, and have always found them very favorable to the Emperor, and disposed to sustain him. But when their privileges, their properties, their seminaries were taken away, and nothing given in return, but calumnies to boot, it is not surprising that they did not applaud such proceedings, which they did not expect. It would have been easy to have come to an understanding with them, and to have secured their co-operation. It would have been wiser and better than to have alienated them. Has not a forming government need of the aid of all the powers of the country? He that is not for us is against us. We shall yet see that the support of the clergy was one of the first necessities of the new empire."

THE LAW OF JUAREZ.

The French pamphlet against the Bishops.

"In order to facilitate the ratification of the decrees of Juarez relative to property in mort-

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main, the unfortunate idea was conceived of having a chaplain of the French army write a pamphlet against the high Mexican clergy. This pamphlet, ill-judged and ill-executed, contained gross and gratuitous insults, without common sense or reason. It addresses the bishops who complain of the conduct of the government towards them, as follows: 'It is not an honorable exile to a foreign land that awaits you, but a rope and a gallows.'"

The pamphlet effective.

"This pamphlet, in the worst possible taste, has produced a great effect, a great sensation, in Mexico; all the clergy, all the conservatives, that is to say, four-fifths of the population, have cried out against the author. Among foreigners, those who know how to read and to honor all respectable authority have warmly disapproved of this pamphlet. The chaplain would not sign his name to his sorry pages, more worthy of a corporal of the guard than of a priest. If he had known the least in the world of the question about which he wrote, he would singularly have modified his language."

THE CLERGY FOR INTERVENTION AND MONARCHY.

The real partisans of the intervention.

"It must not be forgotten, that the most zealous partisans of the intervention have been the conservative ecclesiastics and laity, who have suffered every kind of persecution under preceding governments, and that they could not be hostile to the Empire, which they have desired and aided in every way in their power."

"The *London Globe*, in February, 1864, published an article expressing astonishment, to see the regency dissolve the first body of the Mexican magistracy and replace it with other magistrates, from whom they had previously ex-

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acted the promise to sustain the views of the regency respecting the *pagarès*, that is to say, the sale of property in mortmain."

The Regency adopted the policy of Juarez.

"The Globe was right, for the action of the regency in the matter of the *pagarès* proved that it was neither an easy nor a popular thing, since the magistracy of the country did not believe it was possible to sustain it. When it is considered that the principal ground of opposition to the Juarez Government was the sale of 'property in mortmain,' it is easily understood why the regency, in adopting the same policy, would find the same opposition."

The only friends and support of the Empire.

"The empire ought to have approved and regulated the sale decreed by Juarez; because the division and sale of the property is a resource of the State. But it ought, first of all, to have established and fortified it, by reconciling the offended sympathies of that conservative party which had invited them, instead of alienating, from the outset, the only true friends they could have."

THE CHURCH PROPERTY.

The interests of the Clergy the cause of Civil War.

"Modern civilization is the enemy of 'property in mortmain.' And it is right. In the name of progress, it begins almost always at once to plunder the owners of such property, in order to sell it. And as such properties are singularly the possession of the clergy, and of religious establishments, it is by their sale that the destruction of the old social state of past ages begins. In France, in Spain, in Italy, the sale of properties in mortmain did not create a great social revolution. But in Mexico it stirred up general discontent, and created civil war!"

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The numbers, wealth, and power of the Ecclesiastics.

"The public reprobation of this measure was not merely a religious sentiment. It was a matter of interest as well. * * In Mexico it was equally a religious, a political, and a financial question, affecting many other persons besides the secular clergy, and the *two hundred communities* of men and women who were despoiled."

The Clergy, the bankers of Mexico.

"This explains itself. The property of the clergy, in Mexico, constitutes the basis of credit, agricultural and personal. The shareholders are the national religious corporations. In selling these at a low price to certain foreigners, public credit has been destroyed, and no other financial institution has yet taken its place. It is perhaps not known, that agricultural and personal credit has existed in Mexico for two centuries. The clergy invented it ever since they became possessors of real estate."

Productive and unproductive property.

"The ecclesiastical property of Mexico consisted of productive and unproductive capital. The productive capital included interest, money, and ground-rents of the entire property of the clergy. It maintained their splendid worship, sustained the establishments of education and of charity, and finally was a fund in aid of the farmer, the merchant, the artisan, and, indeed, of the necessities of all classes of society.

"The unproductive property consisted of the value of the churches, convents, sacred vessels, and articles employed in worship."

Laws of 1859.

"According to the laws promulgated at Vera Cruz in 1859, the unproductive property of the clergy could not be made the property of the nation. The other property should be awarded to purchasers for a value, represented by the lease or annual rent, which the

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tenants were paying to the proprietors. One-third was to be paid "en bonds" (pagarès), which represented the credit of the home department. Two-thirds were payable in money.

SALE OF CHURCH PROPERTY.

Sequestration of Church property.

"After the taking of Mexico in 1860, the reformed government declared the churches, convents, and their possessions, the property of the State. The cathedrals and parish churches alone were excepted. The real estate was sold at a ridiculously low price, as well as objects pertaining to public worship, chandeliers, gold and silver vases, and other vessels ornamented with precious stones. An aggregate value of two millions of dollars of landed property was sold to strangers for eighty thousand dollars. Some persons made considerable fortunes by the objects of gold and silver service for worship, which they re-sold in Europe."

"The *pagarès*, bonds, were mostly on long terms. They represented more than *three millions of dollars*, and were sold in reality for eighty thousand. So that those who have these possessions have been stigmatized with the contemptuous term of *detentadores*—bond-holders."

"The clerical proprietors used to lease their properties at a very moderate rate, at about one-eighth of the rates of the new holders. Besides, they lent at interest or on mortgage, to the farmers, merchants, and artisans. The new proprietors, of sharper practice, continually recalled the loans on mortgage, renewing them at considerable advance; so that the tenants and mortgagees found themselves all at once, either in ruinous circumstances, or under the necessity of dishonoring their engagements. The judges on their part refused to try

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cases in ligation involving the validity of pagarès. The conscience of the magistrate and of the citizen revolted at the idea of recognizing the validity of such bonds, and all the world knows that their consciences are not over-scrupulous."

The Abbé's views of the result.

"The disorders resulting from this question became very serious. The public were deprived of the use of an immense capital, which had always been at its service for two centuries. Reclamations were so numerous that the execution of the law relative to rents, to the demolition of churches, of convents, and benevolent institutions, was for some time suspended. On all sides, suits were commenced, with which the judges did not wish to meddle. It now appears why it was that the Mexican population, to a certain extent, was interested in maintaining the 'statu quo,' because the sale of property in mortmain had excited a civil war; and why the conservatives made such an outcry, when it was told to them that the French intervention would sanction the acts of the Juarez Government."

Fealty to the Pope.

"It is impossible to undo the past. But the Imperial government should have inaugurated its reign by the publication of a "*Concordat with the Holy See*," declaring valid all the sales of the church property, regularly made. It should then have come to an understanding with the clergy, and regulated the action of the government in conformity with the usage in other Catholic countries."

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CHAPTER II.

THE INTERVENTION, ACCORDING TO THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

The Intervention.

In Chapter VII., the Abbé Domenech treats of the intervention. He says, "Whatever were the motives that led to the intervention, the campaign in Mexico might have been the most brilliant act in the reign of Napoleon III." "If the Emperor had succeeded, it would have been one of the most humane, glorious, and important enterprises of the XIX. century."

Mexicans in Europe.

"The greater part of the Mexicans who furthered most the creation of the Empire had been in Europe many years. They no longer knew the actual, moral condition of the country, nor the measures necessary to heal its disorders."

Who these gentlemen were, their motives and objects, and the consequent deceptions, may appear in the sequel of this work.

"Every thing was a delusion. Unhappily, there were a great many interested parties. However, be that as it may, we were deceived on every side, and urged on, if not, by a chivalric sentiment, like that which led us to take up arms for the Christians in Syria, and for the independence of the Italians, at least, by a sentiment of high policy. France entered upon Mexico, and substituted, in favor of the Archduke Maximilian, a monarchy for a republican regime."

"The intervention presents so many aspects, and such varied points of view, that it would require volumes to record the studies, which a faithful observer would have to describe."

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THE GREAT ENTERPRISE OF THE XIX. CENTURY.

"I shall show that, if the Emperor had succeeded, the intervention would have been one of the *most philanthropic, glorious, and important enterprises of the XIX. century.*"

The Emperor's Crown a "Church" Crown.

"The influence of France, on which the Mexican Government ought to have relied, was entirely set aside on the arrival of the Emperor Maximilian. The Emperor being very liberal in his ideas, and not knowing that Mexico *had repudiated the conservative party*, WHICH GAVE HIM THE CROWN, sought to attach the liberals to his interests, by sacrificing his only true friends, and placing power in the hands of members of the liberal party, more or less moderate in their views. The confidence of the Sovereign, the honors and positions, were divided among a multitude of national nobodies, aspiring renegades, interested weather-vanes, birds of prey, in a word, the refuse of the two parties that divided the Empire."

THE REPUBLICANS.

French view of the Republicans.

"The power being thus in the hands of vagrants, without principle, without energy for any good, without a shadow of patriotism, universally despised, betraying their Sovereign by studied flatteries, by stupid opposition, by notorious incapacity and faithlessness, the government fell into the most absolute disrepute, and the intervention, unable to defend itself, lost its prestige."

Loyalty to Mexico, treason to France.

"Almost all the employés of the government, from the minister to a village judge, form the category of men whom I have just described. Many of them were public felons, and if they had been judged by

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French laws and French judges, the gallows and the galleys would have left few of them in the country. These men, jealous, envious, and fools, kept sincere and truly honest men aloof. Their contracted ideas, their anti-national selfishness, repelled every generous thought or useful counsel, suggested either by patriots or by foreigners, to promote social progress, public prosperity, or the consolidation of the Empire. Most of these political eunuchs had such shallow brains as to sacrifice, even without knowing it, their own personal interests to their individual animosities and jealousies. They would have neither French intervention, nor the Emperor Maximilian. Holding in their hands the power and the honors, they would not share them with foreigners, much less surrender them. Their pretext was, as they knew the country better, they knew better how to govern it."

MEXICAN INGRATITUDE.

Ingratitude of Italy and Mexico to France.

"All who understand the human heart, know ingratitude affects a nation. France is learning this sad truth every day, to its cost. Italy, which owes its existence and its unity to us, nevertheless hates us, as if we had made her a fatal gift. Mexico was about to owe her welfare and existence as a nation to us; nevertheless, all the employés of the government we wished to establish, were hostile to us. The conquered never loves the conqueror. Does not national pride create the most incomprehensible national antipathies!"

"A certain general, who had had many years of contact and conflict with the authorities of Mexico, said that 'what would forever prevent Mexico becoming any thing, was the Mexicans themselves. Their bad faith, their idleness, their incapacity, passes all bounds of imagination.'

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Mexican prowess. The French mistake.

"The liberals, encouraged and reënforced by the numerous deserters, Belgian, Austrian, and even French, have learned to measure swords with us. It is scarcely two years ago since they fled before us, as from a pestilence." * * * "To-day the Mexicans know that we are not invincible. Would it have been so, if we had not diminished our forces, just in proportion as we extended the circle of our operations; if we had limited that circle; if we had aimed at a moral conquest, instead of a material one, quite impossible with so limited a force?"

"The moral conquest of Mexico was easy. Every honest Mexican, every one who had a family to support, or a dollar to save, was in favor of the intervention." * *

An assertion.

"Except the self-styled *liberals*, armed with carbines or poniards, who do not wish order on any terms, the Mexican people, interventionists or conservatives, are for a monarchy. That is the only form of government they desire, and is the only one suited to them. * * * The monarchical sentiment is in their blood, it is the universal liking."

A FRENCH PRINCE FOR THE THRONE.

An "arrière pensée."

"Before the arrival of the Emperor, the Mexicans were familiar with the idea of seeing a French Prince, or indeed a Marshal of France, govern Mexico. Many residents of the high plateaux thought that the *statu quo* was only a provisional arrangement, accepted for the nonce, in deference to England and the United States, but that we should finish the business, by taking the reins of power ourselves."

Monarchy to be the life of Mexico.

"Notwithstanding his absence, monarchy would have given to Mexico a mighty vitality; republicanism, on the contrary, has weakened it, by

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instability, civil war, and corruption. The idea of a monarchy is far from having been started by the French intervention. It was born of the force of circumstances. The initiative of it belongs entirely to Mexico. It is altogether Mexican. The European convention of October 31st was the result. The general opinion was, that the nation could not maintain itself—that its ruin was inevitable without foreign aid. There had been for a long time before the cabinets of Europe, applications for intervention, even from the Mexican Government itself, as we shall soon see."

MEXICAN COMMISSIONERS TO THE BRITISH AND TO THE FRENCH GOVERNMENTS.

"The question of monarchy in Mexico is not a recent one. Passages in the report of M. Gutierrez de Estrada, presented to the British Government, and to that of Louis Philippe, prove it. This report, unfortunately, had no result, in consequence of the estrangement of the two governments growing out of the Spanish marriages."

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

The Mexican Monarchists.

"The old Monarchical party," says the Report, "which was compelled to merge itself in the Centralist party, after the fall of Iturbide, and which also yielded in good faith to the Republican system, nevertheless believed it would yet recover from its long lethargy. The scattered members of the party united again. A new revolution broke out. General Parédès, rallying to the monarchical party, was its active instrument. The Government of General Herrera made way for that of Parédès. The manifesto which he published left no room to doubt of his intentions. Leaving entirely to a constituent assembly, the power to decide the form of Government

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which should hereafter rule the country, this manifesto clearly indicated that monarchy alone could save it from anarchy, secure the repose it needed, and the prosperity of which it was capable."

DUTY AND DESTINY OF MEXICO.

"Mexico had henceforth a duty to fulfil, as a member of the family of nations, which it could not perform without the coöperation of foreign governments; and hence, for Europe, the duty, and much more the necessity, to come to the aid of Mexico."

Appeal of the Clergy to European monarchs.

"The monarchical party made great progress in a very short time. It was composed of men most respectable for their morality and social position, and of the generality of the clergy, and of citizens enlightened by the experience of the past. This party sought to attach itself to Europe by a bond which offered guarantees for the future: namely, to consolidate the social institutions of Mexico; to establish commercial relations between the old world and the new; to guarantee the numerous stocks invested in Mexican mines; in a word, to put an end to the revolutions so fatal to distant transactions; and finally, to close the door against those abuses which occasion so frequent differences between foreign powers, and those ephemeral governments to which Mexico was periodically subjected."

Animus of the appeal, hatred of freedom.

"It is notorious," says M. Domenech, in respect to this Report, "that those Mexicans who desired sincerely the well-being of their country, made this appeal to Europe with great earnestness. It was painful for them, no doubt, to confess that they could not, without the help of Europe, save themselves from that principle which was destroying the existence of their country; but the

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truth cried louder than vanity, and they had to confess it. Even the liberals themselves, who applied for American intervention, only obeyed that secret instinct which declared that Mexico could not govern itself. They only deceived themselves as to the consequences of that intervention.

"Maximilian has done more for the welfare and happiness of the Mexicans, than the republic has done in half a century."

THE SPECTRE OF THE YANKEES.

The Imperial Dynasty unpopular.

"There are," said the *Mexican Times* lately, "Mexicans who believe that they could rejoice in the evacuation and probable fall of the Empire. Very well. Suppose the French gone, and the Imperial dynasty ended. After all, the Yankees will come, and what will follow?

Kind warning against the Yankees.

"They will enter every city, every village, every hacienda. They will seize the reins of government, and fill all public positions with men of accommodating views and morals. The Indians will be penned up, and placed under legislation that will soon make an end of them. Every mine will be overrun and exhausted. These pioneers will establish themselves in every hacienda and drive off the proprietors. The national costumes will be a butt of ridicule, religion despised, and the traditions of the country trodden under foot. Every road to fortune will be blocked up, by a horde of greedy monopolists."

The armies of Grant, and of Scott.

"Never did a people commit a greater error than that of the Mexicans to-day, who will judge the *Republican* army of Grant by the *American* army of Scott. They no more resemble each other than Samson

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with his flowing hair, and Samson shorn in the lap of Delilah. The republican party in America has tasted blood, and its thirst is now insatiable. It is given up to passions so formidable, that nothing now remains but the sentiment of despotism. It has Butlers for Vera Cruz, Sheridans for the Valley of Mexico, and Milroys for interior cities. Their soldiers now know how they subdue refractory populations."

THE UNITED STATES.

No common sympathy in the two Republics.

"The United States have no sentiments in common with the Mexicans; but, on the contrary, are separated from them by every possible difference of manners, social habits, traditions, and interests. If ever the United States come to Mexico, it will be to re-model, re-people, re-baptise, and absorb the country until the very soil shall produce only Connecticut nutmegs, and the birds warble the '*Star Spangled Banner*'!"

FINAL WARNING TO THE MEXICANS.

Final warning against Americans.

"One word more to those Mexicans who invite this annexation and conquest. When you shall see, which may God preserve you from it, a provost-guard in every hamlet, a company in every village, a regiment in every city, going, coming, swearing against the country, with full consciousness of their power and full license of their natural brutality, then you will bitterly repent not having sustained a régime which sought to identify itself with all your sentiments and all your customs.

"Who shall save Mexico from the revolutionary bondage, or from the destruction of its nationality, threatened by the odious calculations of the Government at Washington? God alone can now deliver her."

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The enterprise of the century.

Such are some of the views of the French ex-chaplain of the expeditionary corps respecting the intervention. It may be supposed that the Abbé was not entirely uninformed of the counsels of the Emperor, and it is quite evident from his narrative, that he knows more than he tells. We may be able in the sequel to eliminate, from the sketch he has given, some features of that "*grand and glorious undertaking*" which promised to be, for France, the crowning glory of the reign of Napoleon III., and for Europe and the world, the "*grandest enterprise of the XIXth century.*"

CHAPTER III.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

M. Domenech devotes the last chapter of his book to an exposition of the Mexican question, from an American and from a European point of view. His comments upon the whole movement of the intervention, its inception, its policy, and the great ulterior objects of European Governments on this continent, throw much light upon the subject. His *quasi* official relations to the Empire, the avowed objects of his book, and the portrait he has drawn of Americans, of the American Government, of American statesmen, of the National policy and aims, designed to influence public opinion in Europe, make it desirable that the character and spirit of his writings should be understood. His representations of the condition and moral influence of "the Church" party and the Church institutions in Mexico, cannot be suspected of bias to their prejudice. The testimony of the volume is therefore valuable, in sustaining the statements of other authors.

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Mexico in the Chamber of Deputies.

"The speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, during the last three sessions, on the Mexican question, have astonished the residents in Mexico, national and foreign. No one could believe that these speeches, for or against, could be seriously made, when every month forty thousand letters arrive in Europe, telling a different story. Four or five orators who know nothing of Mexico, with imperfect, exaggerated, and false information, have treated the question, in a manner and with a positiveness truly astonishing. MM. Jules Favre and Picart have spoken in a way to convince all Mexico, that they are ignorant of the first word, and have not the least idea of what is passing in this country."

A Mexican monarchy—political equilibrium.

"M. Rouher alone has spoken from a point of view sufficiently elevated, to meet the approval of all who understand the importance of our expedition to our commercial interests, and to the *moral and political equilibrium of civilized nations.*"

Ignorance of Mexico, and the Mexican Question.

"I have devoted twenty years to the study of Mexico and the United States, their history, their institutions, their tendencies, the machinery of their administrations, and individuals who occupy different positions in the social scale. My studies have had no other object than to know *what is*, not what I could wish *to be*. I have studied the anthropology of the Mexican races in their cities, villages, plains, and mountains. The result of all this fatigue, study, and labor is, that Mexico, such as it is to-day, and the Mexican question, are two things little understood in Europe."

Opposition in France to the grand act.

"It is natural that the dynastic opposition, and the republican opposition of the corps legislative and of the press, should, right or wrong, attack our intervention in Mexico. But for all that, this intervention

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might become the *grandest political act of our century*, by pursuing its object with intelligence and energy to success. Parliamentary opposition in France having undertaken to criticize the government in all its acts, ought to blame it for having created the Mexican question. It has seen, or pretended to see, only the sacrifices, without deigning to consider the advantages."

Alleged grounds of opposition.

"Its patriotism, judged by the speeches and writings, would lead us to the most humiliating conclusion, if we should allow ourselves to be misled. In attacking the Mexican expedition, it virtually attacks the government in its work; in causing it to fail, it achieves a moral victory, which will become a weapon in its hands for future use. Hence this furious opposition, of which Mexico is only the pretext, but the clipping of the imperial prestige is the real object."

Monarchy—a Foreign Sovereign—the Southern Confederacy.

"If the Mexican question had been better comprehended in the counsels of the government, it would have been better defended. It would have been said, from the start, 'We wish a *monarchy in Mexico*, because it is *the only regime* which is *suited to the country;* we wish a *a foreign sovereign*, because *the nation have asked it*, as being the only strong and stable government it can have.' We have perhaps been wrong in not facilitating the consolidation of the empire, *by recognizing the Southern confederacy.* The Prince himself is mistaken in the policy he has pursued; but our honor and our interests are involved, and we cannot leave Mexico until they are protected."

Latin America a French market.

"The success of our expedition concerns not merely our national self-love, the honor of our flag, but above everything else, our commerce. Upon it, depends the supremacy of our moral influence in the New

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World, where live four hundred thousand Frenchmen. This influence is credit, and what is credit but fortune? Latin America, that is to say, Mexico, Central and South America, would become to France what Asia is to England—*its vast market.* Bilious temperaments and narrow minds cry out against foreign expeditions. Why do they not cry out against the progress of the age? Foreign expeditions secure new outlets for our industry, new markets for our commerce. They create a foreign credit, to which, England and the United States owe all their power and wealth. Foreign credit, is it not the fortune of commercial nations?

"When the present situation and the political tendencies of Spanish America are understood, it will quickly appear how the success of our intervention *would influence all the Republics of the Latin race.*"

"A consolidation of the Mexican Empire would be the moral and political *resurrection of the Latin race* in the new hemisphere.

All American Republics to be made monarchies.

"The Monroe doctrine (who can doubt it?) is nothing else than the first fruits of that grand theme, the preponderance of the Latin race over the civilization of one-half the globe. It is a cry of alarm, uttered prophetically to the nations of the North, to put them on their guard. If monarchy should be successively introduced into the Spanish Republics, *in ten years the United States would themselves declare a dictatorship, which is a kind of Republican monarchy*, adopted by degenerate or too revolutionary Republics."

FRENCH VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES.

"The conduct of the United States in this Mexican question seems to have been understood only in Mexico."

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The United States helpless.

"Whether, on account of the crushing debt, which will render another war impossible for the United States, for a long time to come, or whether, on account of the almost insurmountable difficulties of the government at Washington, in the reconstruction of the American Union, the men in power, and all considerate men in the United States, desire peace at any price. The eminently practical spirit of Americans leads them to lay aside their sympathies for this or that form of government, among their neighbors, because the interests of their industry and commerce are so concerned in a stable order of things. The Mexican Republic has never been a market for them. The consolidation of the empire, on the contrary, promised them an important outlet for their machines, coal, woollen and other goods. To judge of public opinion in the United States by the language of the journals, is an error that they will never commit who have lived long in the country, and have taken the pains to study it. Besides, I will yet show that this language has not always been hostile to Mexico."

American interests and opinions.

TACTICS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The flourish of the Monroe Doctrine.

"Unhappily, our statesmen and orators of the opposition, have appeared to ignore the necessity of the tactics of the American Government. They have taken literally, that which was only a formula, a means of strengthening its position. Thus, after the elections in New Jersey, when the radical or republican party was about to become a majority in the Chambers, the Government then, pursuing with wise perseverance the plan of reconstruction which it had before the war, in order to secure the co-operation of the majority, sacrificed in words, the foreign to the domestic policy. It flourished the Mon-

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roe doctrine, in order to secure the good will of the radicals, or to restrain their hostility. It placed itself at the head of the movement, in order to direct it. By a skilful manœuvre, it went so far, that the Chambers were afraid, as I shall presently prove, of a real conflict with France. So they immediately sent the Mexican question to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. That was to send it to the Greek Calends, as the Cabinet at Washington desired. Later still, the Juarez loan had a worse result than that; it was completely abandoned."

POLICY OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

Mr. Seward's address.

"Mr. Seward, in his correspondence with European Governments, reveals a spirit in which finesse becomes cunning. He knows that the United States is the country, where reigns the most colossal charlatanism in the world. Politics, liberty, administrations, every thing is charlatanism. But he understands the prestige of the unknown, of distance, of cost, and he employs it skilfully. In attempting to intimidate European powers, Mr. Seward knew beforehand what, next to the fear of new complications, were the most pressing interests to secure attention to his words."

Reply of M. Drouyn de L'huys.

"M. Drouyn de L'huys replied to his letters by concessions. The course of the Mexican Government, the German question, which threatened to set all Europe on fire, discouraged him. He did not dare to say to the United States, 'Mind your own business, leave Mexico alone; we will leave it when our interests are satisfied.' Our reply made Mr. Seward more bold with Austria. He forbade the departure of Austrian volunteers. The Cabinet of Vienna hastened to obey, instead of revolting against such pretensions. What could the

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Yankees have done against the South, but for their German and Irish volunteers? But logic does not enter into the policy of the Anglo-Saxon races."

"Why does not Mr. Seward continue to act thus, since he has succeeded so well. England and the United States have almost an identical policy. In questions of honor and humanity, if they do not touch their interests, 'no interference;' in questions purely political, or of national sympathy, 'a great deal of noise,' but no drawing of the sword; in their reciprocal transactions, 'menace or concession,' according to the interest of the moment."

COURTESY OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH.

International Comity.

"The Yankees remind me of the Spanish matádores, who brandish the sword from the balcony and threaten to kill everbody. If by chance a passer by says, 'Come down then, and kill me, if you dare,' down comes the matadore, offers the hand, and swears eternal friendship. If Europe had used more firm and decided language, the United States would not have scoffed as they have done, for some time past. This condescension, which passes now and then for feebleness, may one day cost dear. If this government is left to busy itself in affairs, over which it should have no control, it will soon be felt weighing heavily upon European politics and interests."

"We forget too soon, that in 1846, when the United States invaded Mexico, even then distracted with internal revolutions, the army of invasion, seventy-five thousand strong, took two years to do its work, lost twenty-four thousand men, and cost a thousand million francs. It would be worse to-day. The Americans know it, and do not wish war, at any price. Why should we then be afraid?

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ELEVATED VIEWS OF M. LAMARTINE.

"Let me here quote from M. Lamartine, not that I concur in all his ideas about the Americans—even if these gentlemen do 'chew tobacco,' they know how to clear up a country, to cultivate land, to make machines, as they do not in Europe—but because he has very elevated and correct ideas of this Mexican Question.

"'The idea of the position we should take in Mexico, is a grand idea, not understood—an idea as just, as it is necessary, broad as the ocean, new as the occasion, the idea of a statesman, fertile as the future, and as much for the salvation of America, as for the world.'

"'We must take an elevated view to conceive of its bearing.'"

AMERICA THE PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

America belongs to the human race.

"In starting with the principle, which is now a fact, that the American Continent is the common property of the human race, and not of the shattered Union of a single race, without title and without right, at least to Spanish America and the Latin race, mother of all civilization, it evidently follows that the principle of the protection of Europe, and of its independence, at least in the Seventeen Republican States of South America, belongs to us, and to all the powers of the Old World. We must foresee events, and protect the Latin race; and in order to protect it, we must first take possession of the point menaced by the United States."

AMERICA THE PROPERTY OF EUROPE.

America belongs to Europe.

'It must be done, or we plainly declare that the whole new Continent, *the property of Europe*, will belong, in five and twenty years perhaps, to these

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armed pioneers, who avow no other title to their usurpation but their own convenience, and who permit such citizens as Walker to raise a fleet and an army against Cuba, while their own Federal General, in the name of the Union, takes possession of Mexico, and from thence all the civilized capitals of the South!"

American piracy.

"Why should Europe or the Old World concede to the United States, these rights of piracy upon sea and land, while we in the Old World recognize not only the right to protect interests of universal importance, but even more, the right to take possession of all kinds of property, the use of which is necessary to the public, indemnifying therefor the States or individuals to which they belong?"

"Does the principle of protection of interests useful to all, which we concede to a town or parish, belong less of right to an entire continent to protect itself in its independence? Evidently not. We do not say, 'Take possession of the United States of Spanish America. Their peculiar organic anarchy will possess them enough. But we do say, Europe has the right, and we add the duty, not to give over the Latin race, Spanish America, one half of this magnificent part of the globe which still remains free and independent, more than one half of the heavens and earth, and of the inhabitants of the New World."

EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN THE NEW WORLD.

Anglo-Saxon monopoly.

"What are the common and sacred interests, the necessities of the whole human race, which the policy of the Old World cannot and ought not to deliver up to the mercy of the United States of Anglo-Saxon America?"

"They are the capital of the whole world, employed

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by some, necessary for all, in our state of civilization, and in our system of exchange, which gives us for all, the gold coin, as necessary as bread. The gold mines are there!"

"In the second place, the food of the old world, the wheat, the flour, the corn, potatoes, by which the people live, the privation of which entails upon Europe, in years of scarcity, incalculable calamities and depopulation."

"In the third place, the industries which have become, especially for some years, by the wages they yield to at least forty millions of the operatives in the manufacture of cotton, the veritable and indispensable support of labor and of life."

"And finally, commerce, which necessitates a marine and sailors, a floating population incalculable as the number of men who live upon the sea, and more incalculable still, as the element of our national power. To permit the United States to repeat the folly of the first Empire, to lay an anti-European blockade, not only upon their own ports but upon the world, as they have just proclaimed, is not merely a cowardice,—it is to accept the supremacy of New York—it is to abdicate navigation, commerce, cotton, free exchange, the marine of the old world,—it is to live no longer—but the death of life."

"One of their rare, but most eloquent and honest of their political orators, said to me one day, "*Our liberty consists in doing everything that is most disagreeable to our neighbors.*"

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

European intervention in America.

"Mr. Monroe, one of the flatterers of this people, said, in order to be praised, "The time has come when we ought not to suffer Europe to meddle with the affairs of America, but you ought hereafter to

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make your superior influence felt in the affairs of Europe.'

"The 'Monroe doctrine' is an English importation, accepted by American credulity, which does not see its absurdity. Since the time of Canning, every time the Premier takes snuff, the Washington Cabinet sneeze. When Canning wished to decapitate Spain in America, he said to Mr. Monroe, 'No monarchies on the Continent.' And the President put this phrase into his message, thinking it would do very well. The phrase was sufficiently ridiculous,—Russia, France, England, Spain, and Denmark having vast possessions in America, and the United States not dreaming the least in the world of dispossessing them. The Brazilian monarchy, was it not founded at the very time of the Presidency of Monroe?"

European disinterestedness.

"European powers having not the least desire to take possession of any part of the new world, in order to establish monarchies there, the Monroe doctrine does not mean, to-day, America for the Americans, and Europe for the Europeans,—that is to say, Mexico for the Mexicans, Guatemala for the Guatemalians, Peru for the Peruvians, &c.; it means Mexico for the North Americans, Central America for the North Americans, the whole continent, from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, for the North Americans. These are the pretensions; and if internal affairs did not so engross the public mind, they would manifest themselves with more audacity."

THE QUESTION OF THE OCCIDENT.

The spectre of Americans.

"If the Americans take possession of Mexico, they will become as much masters of the Atlantic and Pacific, in that hemisphere, as Russia would be mistress of the Mediterranean, if she held the Dardanelles.

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France and England could not permit such an invasion without abdicating, in favor of the United States, the sceptre of the seas, and compromising their whole industrial and commercial future. Let no one be deceived. The Mexican Question lies at the very base of a new question, which looms up as the day-dawn of the resurrection of nations, the rights and the new wants which are going to change modern society in every country on the globe. It is the *Question of the Occident*, otherwise more grave and important than the *Question of the Orient*. The United States are the American Colossus, as Russia is the Asiatic. Mexico and Turkey are the two equally forlorn 'sick men.'

"These two States are alike unable to defend themselves, and covetous eyes are as sharp and open at Washington as at St. Petersburg. The Mexican expedition would prevent a Crimean war on a vast scale in the New World, and forestall a formidable shock to which the fatality and timidity of European governments seems urging them on."

"THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE PRESS."

American parties.

"After having exposed in a general manner the tactics of the American Government on the Mexican Question, I ought to explain," continues the Abbé, "more particularly the motives, and lest I should be charged as a visionary, I will take my information from the side-scenes of the 'White House,' and from the American press."

"In all his Diplomatic correspondence, as in all his life, Mr. Seward obeys the inflexible necessity, already stated, of reckoning with parties, of manipulating electoral occasions, and cutting the grass beneath the feet of the adversa-

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ries of the administration he represents. He cannot, and will not, leave to the opposition the monopoly of patriotic language, and of the Monroe Doctrine. He takes the lead, and assumes the very attitude himself in which his enemies proposed to attack his policy."

THE RÔLE OF AMERICAN STATESMEN.

American diplomacy.

"In this respect the statesmen of the United States show a particular kind of cleverness which it is difficult to understand, except from long acquaintance. But it is absolutely necessary to remember it, lest you mistake the bearing of their actions. European governments understand this, and therefore their relations with the Cabinet at Washington take a different form from their other international relations.

"They tolerate from Washington what they would not from any other power, because they know and understand the exceptional circumstances of that Government, which to tell the truth, is not one, in the ordinary acceptation of the term."

The Secretary and Congress.

"It is easy, besides, to trace, in the successive despatches of Mr. Seward, the crushing pressure under which he writes. When Congress adjourns, he is left master of the situation, and confines himself to general indications of the bad moral effect, which events in Mexico produce in the United States. As the session approaches, he multiplies and emphasizes those representations. Then he nominates a minister to the Juarez Government, protests against certain measures of the Mexican Government; then, when the opening sessions of Congress reveal the extent to which agitators propose to push the Mexican Question, he goes still farther: he declines the arrangement which France indirectly pro-

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poses; he writes to M. Bigelow his despatch of Dec. 16th, which would have the air of an ultimatum, if the guarded form did not distinctly declare that he meant neither to offend, nor menace, nor defy."

A Congressional flank.

"The object of all his tactics was, so to proceed that when the documents should be communicated to Congress, the opposition should find that instead of out-flanking the government, they were themselves out-flanked. That is just what happened. In asking for the documents, the House did not expect to find the business so cut and dried. They purposed to accuse the Secretary of State of feebleness, and to place themselves before the country in the attitude of high national spirit, by some sounding declaration. They were surprised and baffled in their calculation, by finding that what they intended to do, Mr. Seward had already done. To go any farther, meant war. This prospect checked the movement. Mr. Seward, who knew his countrymen better than any one else, desired nothing more. One will play with fire only when he sees it far off. To avoid the danger, he had brought Congress face to face with the conflagration."

THE SECRETARY AND THE MINISTER,—MM. SEWARD AND DROUYN DE L'HUYS.

Diplomacy.

"The despatch of M. Drouyn de L'huys, of the 6th of April last, was a deception for Mr. Seward. He was pleased with the idea of gaining a point, not more in fact, than in appearance. With Mr. Seward, the withdrawal of the intervention was not the essential point. What he had at heart was, that, in fixing the limit, France should accede to the wishes of the United States, and thus give éclat to his diplomacy. But the form in which Napoleon announced his resolution, took

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away this triumph. The note in the '*Moniteur*' was addressed to the French Government, and not to that at Washington. The Secretary cherished a secret spite, and as he is not a man to drop quietly a matter in which his reputation and popularity as a statesman are concerned, he turned his batteries against Austria, pretending to forbid her the right to recruit there the foreign legion for Maximilian."

The Austrian correspondence.

"This pretension was put forward by Mr. Seward with a most serious gravity, and with a determination more serious still. This time there was no roundabout way to take; and one could see how comfortable he felt to have finished the affair with France. If the Austrian Government should permit a single soldier to embark for Mexico, the United States would terminate all relations with her. Such, at a single stroke, were the first and the last words of this slightly courteous proceeding."

"One is not surprised to see the Secretary of State work up this novel incident. His pre-eminence in chicanery is well known, from which, he always finds means to make capital for his fame of cleverness. But the absolute terms in which he has successively stated this question have astonished the whole world."

Mr. Seward's point.

"Mr. Seward carries his assurance to the very last point, where he sees it is imprudent to go further. He knows when to stop; and if ever, by chance, he is led on by illusion too far, he manages a retreat, and never fears to retrace his steps. The man who, in November, 1861, declared "urbi et orbi," that he would never release Messrs. Slidell and Mason, and six weeks after delivered the two prisoners on board an English vessel, this man will never be embarrassed in taking the back track. M.

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Seward is a perfect personification of the American Government. These explanations are necessary, in order to understand the rôle played by the United States in the Mexican Question."

"The important point for the Cabinet at Washington has been gained. It was not the promise made by France to recall her troops. That was, paradoxical as it may seem, only a secondary consideration. The true object of the correspondence of the Secrétary of State was for effect, to get through the session of Congress, without its throwing a bomb-shell it would be impossible to extinguish. M. Seward was sure of mastering the situation, if he could keep it in his own hands. He was not sure of it, if the Mexican Question should pass out of his control, and fall into the domain of Congressional discussion. To prevent that, was his constant effort. Here lies the secret of his whole correspondence. In rising to the height of such a purpose, he has followed much more the calculations of his own domestic policy, than any intention of exactions from France."

RELATIONS OF THE "QUESTION" TO AMERICA, TO THE WORLD, AND TO FRANCE.

Mexico and the Dynasty.

"Having thus explained the Mexican Question, from the point of view of civilization, of the new interests of the whole world, of Americans, and of Mexicans, it remains to consider what it is for France." * * * * "The systematic enemies of the Napoleon Dynasty have made the Mexican Question a sort of battering ram, to attack and unsettle the imperial throne from the tribune and by the Press. I might add to this number those men who, not understanding the national grandeur and power there is in annexation and military conquest, take it

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ill, that France should bear the loss of men and money in the creation outside, of an independent empire, and the resurrection of a people."

* * * * * *

"It requires neither sagacity nor any rare elevation of spirit, to understand that those principles of honor and prosperity, which it is well at all times to maintain, are to-day more than ever indispensable to the preservation of European influence in the New World."

* * * * * *

"In the midst of the chaos which the Mexican question presents, in its internal, international, political, and financial complications, in the midst of all the contrasts of good and ill which I have had to expose, in order to show the difficulties of the situation, its plagues and remedies, I will recapitulate in few words what I have said, with perhaps too much of desultory plainness, without troubling myself about the form and details."

RESUMÉ OF THE ABBÉ DOMENECH'S VIEWS.

"Mexico is actually a poor country, notwithstanding its immense natural riches."

Summary.

"To develop it, requires roads and foreign colonization."

"The Mexicans have all the vices and all the qualities of Southern Latin races."

"The Creoles are very intelligent, and the most enlightened class in Mexico, as the Indians are the most docile and the most laborious."

"In Mexico, more than anywhere else, political parties are actuated by interest, and not by convictions. Monarchical ideas preponderate immensely over republican."

"The monarchical form, with a foreign sovereign, is the

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only possible government, and the only desire of the majority of the nation."

"The Mexican Question is a question of honor and of influence, and besides, concerns to the last degree our industrial and commercial future, and that of the whole of Europe."

"Our intervention in Mexico was very popular. The bandits alone were opposed to us."

"It would have been good policy to have recognized the Southern confederacy, in order to make the work of intervention more speedy."

"When we decided upon the expedition to Mexico, we ought to have governed it five years at least, before offering the crown to any one, whoever he might be. That would have cost us less, and we should have been reimbursed our expenses to-day."

"The political system inaugurated by the Emperor Maximilian was premature, and compromised the Empire more than the opposition to his government."

"As one does not create a monarchy with republicans, he should have leaned for support in his government upon conservatives, and not upon liberals."

"The Mexicans having demoralized, overturned, and ruined their country when they governed it, the administration should place in power, as much as possible, and above all, *the French.*"

"The combination by which we should occupy the maritime ports and administer the custom-houses, accounting one-half to the Mexican government, would save our work, and save Mexico from republican anarchy and from American slavery.

"The Emperor Maximilian could not save Mexico,

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except by acting always in accord with France. Unhappily he scarcely ever did it."

"Without the active intervention avowed by the United States, the Mexican Empire would have still been able to survive the departure of our troops, and to have consolidated itself under the new imperial regime. But the attitude of the United States, and the sickness of the Empress Carlotta, took away the last human hopes upon the subject."

* * * * * *

"If the army of the United States or the hordes of American filibusters invade Mexico, it is evident that the Emperor, not being in posture to oppose them, must leave. It is not to be supposed that the Cabinet of the Tuileries trusts in the promise of the United States not to intervene in Mexico, and that this intervention is not foreseen.

"If we permit the Americans to destroy our work, on condition that we are reimbursed, our retreat will be not only as disastrous as that from Moscow,—it will be as humiliating."

* * * * * *

"In view of such a situation, France ought to be discouraged in our futile efforts to establish our preponderance in Mexico, and to guarantee our influence, our industrial, commercial, and political interests in the new continent."

* * * * * *

"France still holds the destiny of Mexico under her flag; if the Yankees take possession of it to-day, we must immediately re-demand it. Let us imitate the English and the Americans, whose policy of foresight we admire so much."

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Ulterior ends of the Expedition.

"Behind the Mexican expedition there was more than an Empire to found, a nation to save, markets to create, thousands of millions to develop: there was a world tributary to France, happy to submit to our sympathetic influence, to receive their supplies from us, and to ascribe to us their resurrection to the political and social life of civilized people."

Such are the views which M. Domenech has done all in his power to disseminate among the courts, the cabinets, and the people of Europe. It is well that the people of the United States, as well as of Mexico, should understand the representations and impressions he has made.

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PART VI.

THE TRANSITION FROM A MONARCHY TO A REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—1810.

The course of conflict.

In order to a clear understanding of the progress of the Revolution in Mexico, a brief recapitulation of the course of events since the War of Independence, 1810, and a chronological arrangement of the successive conflicts, and a statement of the distinctive issues and results of each, down to the final Constitution of 1857, may be of service.

The education of war.

In the war of our rebellion, it required conflict after conflict, disasters and defeats, to emancipate the heart of the nation from the spell of slavery; to clear away the mists and delusions in respect to human rights, which the long reign of the oligarchy had spread over the whole land; and to educate the people up to the proclamation of universal freedom, and of equality in the enjoyment of civil rights, and in the protection of the law. So, in Mexico, the thraldom of centuries had so far obscured the perceptions of right and wrong, and intimidated the declaration of religious freedom, and the overthrow of the old, hereditary, spiritual despotism, that it required a long process of discipline and training, to inspire the necessary determination to break the yoke forever.

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The Bourbons and the Bonapartes.

It will be remembered * that, in 1808, Bonaparte invaded Spain, deposed Ferdinand VII., secured the abdication by the Bourbons of all right to the crown of Spain, and proclaimed Joseph Bonaparte King. The old adherents to the monarchy stirred up the latent embers of Spanish loyalty, and organized juntas in various parts of the country, to oppose the invasions and usurpations of the French.

The contest between the supporters of the Bourbons and of the Bonapartes, partook of all the elements that characterized the great revolution that was then shaking the continent. The French King, borne upon the wave of reform which swept from Paris, over bishops, convents, and church estates, summoned an assembly of deputies, and adopted a Napoleonic Constitution.

The Mexican Clergy.

The clergy in Mexico, fearing the loss or curtailment of their power and privileges, so long held in undisputed possession, opposed the recognition of the French Dynasty, adhered earnestly to the Bourbon regime, and used every effort to perpetuate its sway and their own prerogatives.

The three great Parties.

The population of Mexico was divided substantially into three classes: 1. The old, native Spaniards, who held in their hands the vast monopolies of the church, and of the civil and military offices of the country. 2. The Creole population, a numerous class, regarded by the Spaniards as a kind of half-caste, and excluded from equal privileges with their rulers. 3. The native Indian and mixed races, constituting three-fourths of the entire population of the country, and deemed and treated as peons and slaves.

* See the Chapter on the Political Relations of Spain and Mexico, p. 36.

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Affinities of the Parties.

These were the elements to be affected by the conflicts of sovereignty in old Spain and in the Colonies. The interests of the clergy and of the old Spaniards, led them to court the sympathy of the Creoles and the Indians, in resisting the recognition of the French crown in the colony, and sustaining the old regime of the Bourbons.

The Creoles sought their own advancement, and to free themselves from the domination of their Spanish masters, and to secure equality with them, in rights and privileges. But they were loyal to the mother country. To secure their object, they fraternized as never before with the native population.

The masses of the Indians could not be kept in entire ignorance of their number, of their importance, and of their power, and in the agitations and discussions of the time, began to feel the rising pulsations of freedom. While Spaniards and Creoles were forecasting the chances of prolonging or sharing the monopolies of Church and State in Mexico, under a Bonaparte or a Bourbon, and were figuring to secure office, power, wealth and luxury, four millions of Indians were thinking how *they* might become independent and *free*. Depressed and uninstructed as they were, the light of liberty was kindled here and there —a spark, a flickering flame, and now an inextinguishable fire!

HIDALGO OF DOLORES.

On the 10th of September, 1810, the cry of Hidalgo of Dolores, a country curate, identified in sympathy and interest with his poor parishioners, and with the Indian and mixed races, and goaded by public and private wrongs, roused *a hundred thousand Indians* to follow his banner.

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The first Martyr of Mexican Liberty

But the Church party and the Spaniards were too strong for the natives. Excommunicated by the church, hunted by the army, and destitute of the discipline, the weapons, and the munitions of war, the struggle of the poor Indians for freedom was unequal. Betrayed by Bustamente, Hidalgo was captured and shot—the first martyr for the liberties of Mexico!

The victims of oppression did not, however, give up the contest. General Morelos, Lieutenant in command under Hidalgo, continued the war, summoned a National Congress in September, 1813, which, in October of the following year, promulgated the principles embodied in the "Constitution Apatzingan."

Union of the Creoles and Indians.

In 1820 the first considerable movement was made to unite the Creole and the Indian elements in common cause against "despots and bad government." The combination was made, and deeds of heroic patriotism on one side, and of appalling barbarity on the other, mark the history. Relentless cruelties and retaliations banished mercy from the human heart.

Spanish atrocities.

Mayer, in his political history of Mexico, says that "after the first successes of the Mexicans, there was a period of reaction, when the Spaniards again obtained a temporary mastery under General Calleja, and the annals of the time teem with accounts of the sanguinary vengeance wreaked by that inhuman monster on the victims who fell within his grasp. After he had obtained possession of the revolted city of Guanajuato, he caused the inhabitants to be driven into the great square of the town, and *near fourteen thousand men, women, and children were butchered* like cattle on the spot. Proclaiming that powder and ball were too costly to be wasted in their execution, he let loose his soldiery on the defenceless crowd,

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with an order '*to cut their throats*,'—and it is related that the fountains and gutters of the city literally ran with human blood."

"These were things to be remembered, and to exasperate. There was no longer any hope for the people. There was no disposition to temporize or to conciliate. It was submission or death. And the "una salus victis nullam sperare salutem," nerved their arms, and forced them into ardent and continued resistance. They conquered."

" For such distinguished services, Calleja was created Marshal, decorated with the Grand Cross of the order of Charles III., and appointed Viceroy."

CHAPTER II.

THE MONARCHICAL PLAN OF IGUALA—1821.

The Cortes and the Colony.

On the 24th of February, 1821, this celebrated plan was declared. The revolution in Spain had extended its influence to Mexico. The Cortes had compelled King Ferdinand to swear fidelity to the Constitution, and issued decrees to Apodaca, the Viceroy of Mexico, to proclaim it in the Colony, and partially to sequestrate the property of the Mexican Church.

The Viceroy, a royalist at heart, and an enemy of the revolution, resolved to oppose its progress. The Bishops, the clergy, the native nobility, the Spanish Generals, the wealthy Spaniards, who had been alienated by the acts of the Cortes, united to support Apodaca in a formidable opposition.

THE EMPIRE UNDER ITURBIDE.

Don Augustine Iturbide had long been a bitter enemy of the patriots, and as zealous a defender of the Vice-regal

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Government. He was reputed to be clever, bold, and fearless, and not over-scrupulous as to the means for accomplishing his ends. Availing himself of the knowledge he possessed of different parties and interests, he entered into a conspiracy with the Clergy, and such other leaders as could be enlisted in the scheme, to revolutionize the country, and achieve the independence of Mexico.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF MEXICO.

Iturbide, having obtained possession of about half a million of the public treasure, and having secured the co-operation of the higher Clergy to arouse and inflame the people, promulgated the following plan.

It was named after the small town, on the road to Acapulco, from which it emanated. The forces who maintained it were called the "ARMY OF THE THREE GUARANTEES," from the three fundamental principles on their banner—INDEPENDENCE, the MAINTENANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, and UNION.

THE PLAN.

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican Nation is independent of the Spanish Nation, and of every other, even on its own continent.

Art. 2. Its religion shall be the Catholic, which all its inhabitants profess.

Art. 3. They shall all be united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

Art. 4. The government shall be a constitutional monarchy.

Art. 5. A Junta shall be named, consisting of individuals who enjoy the highest reputation in different parties which have shown themselves.

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Art. 6. This Junta shall be under the presidency of His Excellency, the Conde del Venadito, the present Viceroy of Mexico.

Art. 7. It shall govern in the name of the nation, according to the laws now in force, and its principal business will be to convoke, according to such rules as it shall deem expedient, a congress for the formation of a constitution more suitable to the country.

Art. 8. His Majesty, Ferdinand VII., shall be invited to the throne of the Empire, and in case of his refusal, the Infantes, Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula.

Art. 9. Should his Majesty Ferdinand VII. and his august brothers decline the invitation, the nation is at liberty to invite to the imperial throne any member of reigning families whom it may choose to select.

Art. 10. The formation of the constitution by the congress, and the oath of the emperor to observe it, must precede his entry into the country.

Art. 11. The distinction of castes is abolished, which was made by the Spanish law excluding them from the rights of citizenship. All the inhabitants are citizens and equal, and the door of advancement is open to virtue and merit.

Art. 12. An army shall be formed for the support of RELIGION, INDEPENDENCE, and UNION, guaranteeing these three principles, and therefore shall be called "THE ARMY OF THE THREE GUARANTIES."

Art. 13. It shall solemnly swear to defend the fundamental basis of this plan.

Art. 14. It shall strictly observe the military ordinances now in force.

Art. 15. There shall be no other promotions than

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those which are due to seniority, or which are necessary for the good of the service.

Art. 16. The army shall be considered as of the line.

Art. 17. The old partisans of independence who shall adhere to this plan, shall be considered as individuals of this army.

Art. 18. The patriots and peasants who shall adhere to it hereafter, shall be considered as provincial militiamen.

Art. 19. The secular and regular priests shall be continued in the state in which they now are.

Art. 20. All the public functionaries, civil, ecclesiastical, political, and military, who adhere to the cause of independence, shall be continued in their offices, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans.

Art. 21. Those functionaries, of whatever degree and condition, who dissent from the cause of independence, shall be divested of their offices, and shall quit the territory without taking with them their families and effects.

Art. 22. The military commandants shall regulate themselves according to the general instructions in conformity with this plan, which shall be transmitted to them.

Art. 23. No accused person shall be condemned capitally by the military commandants. Those accused of treason against the nation, which is the next greatest crime after that of treason to the Divine Ruler, shall be conveyed to the Fortress of Barbaras, where they shall remain until congress shall resolve on the punishment that ought to be inflicted on them.

Art. 24. It being indispensable to the country that this plan should be carried into effect, inasmuch as the welfare of that country is its object, every individual of

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the army shall maintain it, to the shedding (if it be necessary) of the last drop of his blood.

Town of Iguala, 24th February, 1821.

The design of the plan.

"The plan of Iguala," for the independence of Mexico, was inaugurated in the interest of the Church party. Copies of the Articles of Declaration were sent to all the Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of Mexico, to all the Commandants General of the Provinces, and to all Officers of the civil and the military service.

On the 2d of March, *Iturbide*, in submitting his plan to the officers of the army, and receiving the solemn oath of the whole body to maintain it, addressed them as follows:

"Soldiers, you have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire, and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens, and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality."

The revolution of independence.

This great revolution, which sundered the political connection of Mexico with the mother country, was not the work of a day.

"The way had been preparing by the struggles through which the nation had passed from the hour, in 1810, when HIDALGO of Dolores had raised the standard of revolt and the cry of Independence."

But "the great secret of this revolution, so easily and so suddenly achieved at last, and so important in its results, is to be referred to the decree of the Cortes against the property of the Church. *Iturbide* was merely the in-

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strument of the exasperated ecclesiastics of the viceroyalty, whose vengence being aroused, were prepared to sacrifice the tranquillity of the country, to repudiate loyalty to their ancient crown, rather than submit to be robbed by the State."

It thus appears, by Articles 1 and 8, that the plan of Iguala contemplated an "Independent Mexican Empire," with a Foreign Monarch, a Spaniard, on the throne.

Independence the universal cry.

Iturbide, and the whole party with whom he acted, were monarchists, not republicans. But popular sentiment was so strong in favor of "Independence," that the leaders and parties all around fell in with the movement. "Independence forever" was a rallying cry in which Monarchists and Republicans, Spaniards and Mexicans, "The Church Party" and reformers, all joined in indiscriminating enthusiasm.

The whole force of Iturbide, at first, did not exceed eight hundred men. But the skilful use of the "banner" and the "cry" rallied the broken fragments of old revolutionary forces, and the clergy, the military, and the people were soon, for once, all in accord. But the elements were too incongruous and conflicting to be long in harmony.

The scheme of the Church party.

"The Church Party" were content with "Independence" and a monarchy, and a "Bourbon" on the throne. Their prestige and power would be safe. "The Republicans" sought not only "Independence," but a Republican Government. The partisans of Iturbide wished a Mexican, not a Spanish Monarchy, and held the crown in reserve for their leader.

The new Viceroy.

At this juncture a new Viceroy arrived, who found it necessary to recognize, in the name of Spain, the "Independence of Mexico." The "Army of the

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three Guarantees" entered the Capital in September, 1821, and inaugurated the era of Mexican Independence.

A provisional junta of thirty-six was immediately gathered. They elected a regency of five. Iturbide was President. He was also elected Generalissimo, Lord High Admiral, with a salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT MEXICAN CONGRESS—1822.

In February, 1822, the first Independent Mexican Congress assembled in the Capital. The heterogeneous elements now began to disclose their irreconcilable character. The Viceroy's recognition of Mexican Independence had reached Spain, and was repudiated by the Cortes. The Bourbon scheme was dead, and the Spanish and the "Church Party" were left to shape their course, as best they could, between the aspirations of the Republicans and the partisans of Iturbide.

The fierce contest.

While these two parties were contesting in Congress the claims of republicanism and monarchy, and ecclesiastical, political, military, and financial interests were all mingling in the revolutionary caldron, the partisans of Iturbide, an unorganized band of soldiers and of the populace, gathered before the palace of Iturbide, and with shouts proclaimed him Emperor, as AUGUSTIN I.

The new sensation.

The idea of an independent nation, a Mexican monarchy, and a native sovereign, was like a clarion call re-echoed everywhere. Congress could but approve the extempore coronation of the people. The rapid strides of Iturbide, a private, a Colonel, a Lord-High Admiral, Emperor, were too much for his equanimity. He claimed an exercise of arbitrary, imperial power, which

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Congress resisted. "He demanded a veto upon all articles of the Constitution then under discussion, and the right of appointing and removing at pleasure the members of the supreme tribunal of justice. He recommended the establishment of a military tribunal in the Capital, with powers little inferior to those exercised by the Spanish commandants during the revolution." Congress rejected these proposals. The Emperor thereupon, Aug. 26, 1822, arrested fourteen of the recusant deputies.

Usurpation of the Emperor.

This highhanded measure so incensed the representatives of the people, that any further cooperation between congress and the sovereign was impossible.

The Emperor therefore dissolved "his parliament," and sent them home. He created a new constituent junta of forty-five persons, selected by himself, who were of easy purpose to execute his will.

The people, who had expected a constitutional monarchy, did not accept these usurpations, so like Old European despotism, and universal dissatisfaction spread almost as rapidly as the enthusiasm at the erection of the throne.

The Revolt.

The northern provinces declared against the usurper. Santa Anna, Governor of Vera Cruz, joined the dissidents. Iturbide sent General Echavarri to crush the opposition and the Governor at Vera Cruz. Echavarri joined the revolt. Gaudalupe Victoria, the patriot hero, whom Iturbide could neither seduce nor subdue, had fled to the fastnesses of the mountains during the imperial regime. He came down like a lion from his lair, and joined Santa Anna.

A Convention.

In February, 1823, a convention was signed, called "The Act of Casa Mata," which pledged

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the re-establishment of the National Representative Assembly, which the Emperor had dispersed.

The Patriots in Council.

"The Marques, Vibanco, Guerrero, Bravo, and Negrete, in various sections of the nation, joined the popular movement which was sweeping the country. Iturbide found his error too late. In March, 1823, he offered his abdication to the old Congress. Its re-collected members, however, refused any recognition of his right to a crown, even so much as by the acceptance of his abdication. Nevertheless, with a magnanimity which would not ignore his services in securing the independence of his country, they allowed his departure from Mexico, endowed him with an income of *twenty-four thousand* dollars a year, and placed at his disposal a vessel to bear himself and family to Leghorn in Italy.

Aid of the British flag.

In July, 1824, a vessel under British colors reached the Mexican coast, near the mouth of the river Santander. The next day a gentleman appeared, announcing himself as a Polish visitor, who, with a friend, had come to purchase land in that district, with a view to establishing a colony.

General Garza, in command, gave free permission to enter the country. Suspicion was excited in regard to the two strangers; and on the removal of disguise, the Emperor Iturbide appeared before the general, as the Polander's friend. The Ex-Emperor was secured as a prisoner, and delivered to the authorities of Tamaulipas. The State Legislature, then in session, promptly resolved to execute a decree of Congress of the preceding April, and condemned the royal exile to death. He was shot.

The end of Iturbide.

Thus ended the usurpations and the reign of Iturbide. Sad was his fate. But whatever sympathy was felt for him was much abated by a record,

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in his own handwriting, that on Good Friday, 1814, "in honor of the day, he had just ordered three hundred excommunicated wretches to be shot!"

CHAPTER III.

THE CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1824.

The restoration of Congress.

AFTER the fall of Iturbide, Generals Victoria, Bravo, and Negrete entered the Capital the same month. The old Congress was quickly re-assembled. They appointed the three victorious generals a provisional triumvirate, to exercise supreme executive powers until the assembling of the new Congress in the following August.

This Congress, in October, 1824, adopted the Federal Constitution,* which, surviving all the revolutions and reforms of twenty-three years, was in substance re-adopted in 1857.

The tie sundered.

The war of Independence only sundered the connection between Mexico and Spain. The herculean work of the colonists was, to construct a system of government for themselves, and out of the chaos of Spanish oppression and misrule, to bring forth order, system, and law.

THE FIRST REALLY NATIONAL CONSTITUTION—1824.

On the 4th of October, 1824, a National Representative body, assembled for the purpose, formed and proclaim-

* The Appendix contains the draft of this Constitution, as submitted to the Congress; and it exhibits the manner and spirit of the transaction of the business, and the purposes and aims of the nation. This project with some amendments was adopted, and formed the basis of the Constitution of 1857. P.

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ed a Constitution, by which the sixteen original States were united in a *Federal Republic*.

The first Congress.

On the 1st of January, 1825, the first Congress under this Constitution assembled in the City of Mexico, and General Victoria was installed as President of the Republic. The Constitution by General Morelos, in 1814, was adopted only by the section of country under his control. This of 1824, was the first well-matured and symmetrical constitution of Mexico. It was accepted by the whole country, and formed the basis of that perfected democratic Republican Constitution of 1857, which has become the great organic law of the land.

This Constitution of 1824 was far from meeting the exigencies of the case, or the indispensable requisites of Republican Institutions. The people were not yet educated in the true ideas of freedom, and the clerical party wielded a power that compassed their private ends.

Article 50 provided for a concordat with the Holy See, which was to throw the whole of the Mexican church management into the hands of the Roman Pontiff. The clergy contrived to exempt themselves entirely from any chance of Government control over their property and monopolies. All the bishoprics, deaneries, and chapters could be filled by old Spaniards only. The Creoles and mixed races were eligible only to the lower orders of church offices. Church privilege and caste disabilities still wrought together, to perpetuate the despotism and the curse of Mexico.

Essential elements of the history.

The limits of this work forbid a minute detail of all the revolutions and counter-revolutions which have marked the struggles of the Republicans. Nor is it necessary, to understand the conflict. The elements of the two great national parties, though in the main dis-

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tinct and irreconcilable, were often somewhat mixed and confused in their action. The line of demarcation fluctuated at times, from side to side, attaching now to one party, and now to the other, individuals and interests of varying and vacillating influence. Nevertheless, the great fundamental, distinguishing principles of the two parties are clearly traceable from their origin, down through all the successive steps and stages of development, to the final result.

Power of the Clergy.

It is not surprising that that Priestly organization wielding the ecclesiastical, political, civil, military, and monetary powers of the whole country, and backed by all the influence that could be brought to bear to sustain it from the old world, should be able to sow dissensions, foment counter-revolutions, suborn the feeble, dependent, ambitious, and in a thousand ways embarrass and thwart the plans and aims of the Republicans, feeble in everything but their principles and the justice of their cause.

The number of presidents, dictators, pronunciamentos, revolutions, reactionary movements, and Bull-run defeats in Mexico, so far from alienating our sympathies and confidence from the Mexican patriots, should only make us the more appreciate the difficulties of their terrible struggles, and honor their indomitable perseverance and patriotism.

We pass to another suggestive act in the drama.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSPIRACY—THE CHURCH PARTY WITH PAREDES, TO OVERTHROW THE REPUBLIC, ERECT A MONARCHY, AND INVITE A FOREIGN PRINCE TO THE THRONE—1845.

"The Church Party" and Paredes.

In December, 1845, General Paredes, who had been placed in command of the army at San Luis Potosi, by the Republican President Herrera, *pronounced* against him. The Archbishop, several of the Bishops of the highest rank, military officers, and the monarchical interest generally, combined for the avowed purpose of crushing forever the republican system. The Archbishop openly avowed his determination to support a revolution, and declared that a monarchical Government was more in accordance with church principles, and better adapted to Mexico. Aided by the clergy and the army, Paredes succeeded. This new party, more formidable for its material than for its numbers, boldly pushed the scheme. Paredes, thus sustained, assumed the power of a hereditary Sovereign, completely subverted the constitution of 1824, substituted a new and totally different form of Government in its place, and by a decree, known as the "Law of Convocation," disfranchised the great body of the people, and deprived them of the right of sending deputies to the National Legislature.

"The Church" against the People.

Great dissatisfaction and indignation spread throughout the country, at this violation of popular rights. The only protection of the masses against an irresponsible executive was taken away. Their future was to be, despotic rule, "absolute, and unlimited by precedent, law, or the will of the people."

A Bourbon to be called to the Throne.

The Chamber of Deputies, under the new organization, was composed of individuals of the

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ecclesiastical, military, and commercial classes, together with opulent miners and land-owners. The journals under the patronage of the Government, openly advocated the placing of a Prince of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Mexico.

The Republican Press.

The republican portion of the press were very bitter against Paredes from the beginning. They denounced his aristocratic principles, and accused him of selling himself to the natural enemies of Mexico, of conspiring with the clergy to destroy the independence and freedom of the nation, and to bring back the odious system of monarchy which had perished with the ill-fated Iturbide. *

Arbitrary act of Paredes.

Paredes, in the exercise of his despotic power, arrested these patriotic editors and publishers, and either banished the victims of his tyranny from their homes, or confined them in the common receptacles of vice and crime, herded with robbers, thieves, and assassins.

Embarrassment of the Revolutionists.

The new administration had no advantage over its predecessor, in means to carry on the Government. War with the United States, improvident expenditure, internal dissensions, and unskilful management had completely exhausted the treasury. Santa Anna had tested the power of the people to bear the burden of taxation to the last feather. Payment was suspended. Credit was gone. The salaries of all the officers in the public service had been reduced one-fourth ; and disbursements, under the plea of necessity, had actually been made of revenues pledged to public creditors.

The Clergy refuse pecuniary support.

Under these circumstances, Paredes determined, as his only resource, to call upon the " venerable clergy " to share of their wealth, in the pecuniary

* Young's Mexico, ch. 4.

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burdens of the State. They had zealously engaged in cathedral, church, and village chapel, in offering up prayers for the success of the Government, in the cabinet and in the field.

The Minister of Finance and the Archbishop.

The Minister of Finance accordingly made official application to the Archbishop. Having specified the necessities of the State, the exigencies of the war, the importance of a faithful compliance with the engagements contracted by the nation with its creditors, and the calamities of impending bankruptcy, he added, that "*the Clergy alone had been exempted from the onerous burdens, which had been imposed, of late, upon the rest of the people; and while the Executive deprecated the necessity that obliged him to call upon the Church, he would be neglecting his duty, should he fail in straining every nerve to relieve the Government from the financial pressure under which it was about to be crushed.*"

The Archbishop and Republicanism.

The Archbishop had been a chief promoter and warm supporter of the revolution that had placed Paredes in power. He hoped by this means to overthrow utterly the republican system, to exterminate republican principles, and to erect a monarchy for a Foreign Prince. Yet the Archbishop replied to the Minister of Finance, "that he would convoke a meeting of his chapter, and submit the requisition of the Supreme Government; that he was willing to aid to the extent of his power in raising supplies, in order to carry on 'a war, in which the two precious boons so dear to Mexicans were at stake,—independence and religion!'"

Numbers and strength of the Clergy.

The Mexican Ecclesiastical establishment, it will be remembered, according to the Report of the Minister of Justice and Ecclesiastical affairs, consisted of one Archiepiscopal See, nine Bishoprics, eight Cathe-

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dral Chapters, divided into one hundred and eighty-five prebendaries and canonries, and sub-divided into twelve hundred parishes. The number of clergy was about five thousand six hundred, two thirds of whom were secular priests.

The regulars, who wear the habit of their particular order, at least two thousand in number, possessed one hundred and fifty convents and monasteries. The streets of every large city abounded with the "Fathers" of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustine, Carmelite, and Mercedarian orders.

Wealth of the Hierarchy.

The Mexican Hierarchy was reputed to be the most opulent and splendid in the world. The Pope had granted to the Kings of Spain the revenues of the Colonies derived from the tithes usually levied by the Romish Church. The King appointed the Dignitaries, who became virtually the mere agents of the monarch, depending more upon his will than upon the Pope himself. But the principles and policy of the King and the Prelate were in perfect accord.

Revenues.

The united revenues of the Archbishop of Mexico, the Bishops of Puebla, Oajaca, Valladolid, Yucatan, Guadalajara, Durango, Monterey, and Sonora, amounted to £145,000 sterling, of which the Archbishop received £27,000. The whole number of Priests, monks, and friars was about ten thousand.

Convents.

In the City of Mexico alone, there were more than fifty convents, containing three thousand three hundred individuals. The clergy were generally native Spaniards, devoted to the interests of the king, the Church, and the Inquisition, passing their lives in criminal indulgence, or luxurious repose.* The present wealth of

* Robertson's Hist. America.

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the clergy in lands, houses, plate, jewels, and money, had been estimated at $300,000,000, yielding an annual revenue of $25,000,000. They also held mortgages on a vast amount of real estate, in all the provinces.

Decision of the Chapter.

The Archbishop submitted the application of the Minister of Finance to his Chapter, in convocation, and urged upon them the necessity of keeping upon good terms with the supreme Government at that crisis. But the Chapter decided that they had "no right to dispose of the property that had been given to the Church for sacred uses; that it was in opposition to the declarations of the Council of Trent, to surrender ecclesiastical revenues for secular purposes, and that they could not comply with the requisition of the State."

In this condition of things, the Archbishop died. The power of the Government was nearly paralyzed by the total want of popular sympathy with its principles and aims. Dissatisfaction was almost universal. The nation was ready to repudiate the usurpation of *Paredes* and the Church party, and to restore the Institutions of the Republic.

DEFEAT OF THE MONARCHICAL SCHEME OF 1846.

Defeat of the Monarchists.

The career of Paredes, in opposition to the liberal and republican party, continued less than a year. Public discontent with the principles and course of the administration appeared on every hand. Several of the Departments protested against the "Law of Convocation," and called on the President to repeal it, and restore the masses to their rights. At the April election for Deputies, at Vera Cruz, the merchants refused to send a representative. The Assembly of the Department petitioned Congress to abrogate the "Law of Convocation." Paredes

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replied by imposing a fine on *five* of the principal merchants, and ordered the Governor to arrest and imprison the members of the petitioning council.

Popular cry for a Republic.

In May, a battalion of Government troops at Guadalajara, in the State of Jalisco, joined with the populace, and fired upon the Governor's Palace, amid shouts of "Long live the Republic!" The émeute spread like contagion. The whole body of the Government troops quailed before the clamors of the people. The contest ended with a regular pronunciamento against the whole *Paredes* Government and scheme, and a plan for the regeneration of the Republic.

Protest against a Foreign Monarchy.

The preamble protested against the design of erecting Mexico into a monarchy, and placing a foreign prince upon the throne. It denounced the "Law of Convocation," and the Congress under it, about to assemble, as aristocratic, opposed to the national feelings, and excluding the great mass of the people from their rights of representation.

A new Congress.

The plan then declared that a new Congress should be convened, to be composed of Deputies elected according to the electoral laws of 1824, * * and which Congress should adopt a constitution in accordance with the national will, which unmistakably indicated that the monarchical principle should be excluded.*

One article declared confidence in Santa Anna, as the founder of the Mexican Republic, and that whatever may have been his errors, he had ever been its powerful champion, in spite of European Nations and the instigations of perverse Mexicans; and that he was the choice of the loyal troops at Guadalajara, as chief of the patriotic movement.

* Young's Mexico, p. 375.

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A Provisional Government was then organized, the officers of which were sworn to maintain the republican principles.

In June, at the opening in the capital, of the extraordinary session of the Congress, General *Paredes* announced, with "profound grief," that the public order and tranquillity "were disturbed in the southern part of the Department of Mexico, in part of the Departments of Puebla and Oajaca, in the Departments of Sinaloa and Sonora, and recently in that of Jalisco." The truth was, the great mass of the people were arrayed against the Government in deadly hostility.

General ALVÁREZ, a noble Patriot, at the head of the Republican forces in this movement, was sustained by almost the entire population in the western and southern portions of the Republic. A small part only of the population adhered to the Government. *Paredes*, having identified himself with the monarchists and failed, Santa Anna sided with the Republicans. The city of Vera Cruz, looking for an able and experienced leader, declared in favor of Santa Anna, and publicly invited the exile to return to his native land and join in the struggles of republicanism against monarchy.

The Republic proclaimed in the Capital.

On the 4th of August, 1846, Generals Morales and Salas, in conjunction with Señor Valentin Gomez Farias, raised the tri-color banner in the Capital, and issued a pronunciamento in favor of the Republican Federal system. The people and most of the troops flocked to the standard. Paredes fled the city. General Bravo, honored and respected for his character and services, remained in the capital. It was a great popular uprising—a restoration, rather than a revolution. From the citadel of Mexico the decree went forth that "the

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Laws of a recreant Congress were null," and that body and the various State Assemblies in collusion with it, were disssolved. All exiled Mexicans, and especially "Santa Anna," "the well-deserving of his country," were invited to return; and he was solicited to take command of the armies of the Republic. The States were to be re-organized, by new elections according to law, as sovereign and independent. A new Congress was summoned to meet in four months, the members to be elected according to the law of 1824; and that any one who should attempt to retard the election of representatives, or to dissolve the legislative body, or suspend its sessions, should be accounted a traitor to his country. The plan for the regeneration of the Republic declared, "that the monarchical principle should be excluded from the future form of government, and that the honor, rights, and independence of the people should be maintained."

This was the voice of the people—that voice that falls,

> "As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
> But executes the freeman's will,
> As lightning does the will of God."

The whole monarchical scheme was repudiated, and a failure; its President a fugitive; its Congress dispersed; the Capital in new and loyal hands; and the people throughout the country rising in their majesty to reconstruct a Republican Government.

Preamble of the Proclamation.

The grounds of this revolt against the usurpations of the monarchists, and the objects the republicans had in view, are set forth in the following extracts from the preamble and articles of their Proclamation:

"The generals, chiefs, and officers having met, and being penetrated with the urgent necessity which exists

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for relieving the Republic forthwith from its grievous peril, and considering,

I. That from the moment when the Constitution ceased to exist, which the Republic freely and spontaneously gave to itself, those which were afterwards framed, have not been adapted to the exigencies and desires of a great majority of the nation.

II. That hence have proceeded the incessant changes, which have afflicted the country to such an extreme, that when she was torn to pieces, and after her external ills had been studiously aggravated, some *spurious* Mexicans have deemed themselves warranted, in wishing to subject the nation to the most shameful vassalage, by attempting to invite a Foreign Prince to govern the country, with the title of a monarch.

III. That for the purpose of facilitating so horrible a treason to independence, they have been so bold as to disavow the sovereignty of the people, by naming a Congress in which with special care, were combined the most extraordinary elements, yet those most suited to complete the ignominy of the nation.

IV. That all the laws which the present Congress may pass, and all the acts of the government being null, because neither the Congress nor the government are legitimate, consequently a just motive exists for the nation to continue to demand the exercise of its incontestible rights, usurped by the present administration.

V. That the administration referred to, being composed of men devoted, some to monarchy, others to detestible centralism, and all unfriendly to the army, whose dissolution they meditated some time since, because they encountered in it, an impediment to the accomplishment of their perverse views.

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VI. That if these should unfortunately be carried into effect, the benefits of independence would be illusory, to which we sacrifice our blood and our fortune, for the purpose of enjoying the right to govern ourselves conformably to our desires and interests.

VII. That by establishing a Constitution in accordance with the will of the great majority of the nation, we shall at length possess a stable code of laws, beneath whose beneficent shade, our great elements of power and wealth shall be developed, and our internal tumults forever cease:

The Proclamation.

We have come to proclaim, and do proclaim the following plan for the true regeneration of the Republic:

I. In place of the present Congress, another shall meet, composed of representatives chosen by the people according to the electoral laws which served for the choice of that of 1824, which shall charge itself with constituting the nation, by adopting the form of government which may appear to be in accordance with the national will; and which shall charge itself also, with all that relates to the war with the United States, and the question of Texas and other frontier departments. The monarchical form of government, which the nation evidently detests, is excluded.

II. All Mexicans faithful to their country, including those who may be absent therefrom, are called upon to render their services in the present national movement; for which purpose we specially invite his Excellency, General Don Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, "the well-deserving" of his country, acknowledging him from this moment, as General-in-chief of all the forces pledged and determined to fight, in order that the nation may recover its rights, secure its liberty, and govern itself."

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The spirit and aims of the people are further exhibited in the manifesto of General Salas, General-in-chief of the Republican Liberating army. He says,

Manifesto of the Republican Army.

Fellow-citizens: Placed at the head of the movement which was happily effected on the morning of this day, I consider myself under the strict obligation to present to you an account of my conduct, of the motives which determined me to act.

Ever since the destruction of the Federal Constitution in 1835, abandoning the path of law, we have recklessly rushed along the tortuous track of arbitrary proceedings. Advancing as chance directed, without any beacon to guide us, our unfortunate country has reached the brink of a fearful abyss.

System has followed system; constitution has replaced constitution; and one set of persons has succeeded another in power. But neither have the systems been based on solid foundations, nor have the constitutions been invested with the seal of legitimacy, nor have the individuals charged with power, escaped the fatal contagion of party spirit. Thus factions have always ruled, *but the people* never. Men, not principles, have triumphed.

This is no occasion for bringing to view one by one, all the acts which have brought us to the present state; nor to throw the blame on one party, or to defend another. Every party has contributed its share to the work of the public ruin. Both the victors and the vanquished have alike been victims, because in each case a faction, not a principle, has triumphed.

The last change, however, beyond measure bolder and more imprudent than those which preceded it, was not limited like these to the mere change of the person in power, and to the expansion or contraction of social prin-

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ciples. Those who effected it, raising their views to higher objects, aimed at the entire destruction of the organization of society. Utterly regardless of the character, the customs, and even the views of the nation, they sought, without respect to the length of time which has elapsed since our independence was achieved, to reestablish anew, in Mexico, a form of government for which we have not among us any of the bases, on which it rests in Europe.

The faction which entertained this design unfortunately found the most complete support in the Government of January, under whose protection it displayed its banner, and without any reserve began to unfold and sustain monarchical principles, blasting with vile calumnies our public men, bringing our affairs into contempt by means of misrepresentation or ridicule, and drawing from the past, as thus exhibited, the conclusion that the evils of the country arise from the Republican system, and that the only remedy for them consists in the measure which they dared to propose,—*the erection of a throne for a foreigner.* As an effective means of attaining this end, it dictated the summons for a Congress which should represent what is called the aristocracy, and from whose bosom the *people* were rejected with disdain and insult, as born, in the opinion of this faction, only to obey.

In vain did the Cabinet, attempt, by its measures on the 3d of August, to oppose a dyke to the torrent of public opinion, which was already overflowing its banks, to overwhelm this oligarchical administration.

Mexico, August 6th, 1846.

On the morning of the 4th, the Citadel passed the sentence of death upon this system, and two days sufficed to overthrow it.

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CHAPTER V.

THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESS, AND THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—1846.

The Congress of Dec. 1846.

On the 6th of December, 1846, in conformity with the proclamation of the provisional Government, and in pursuance of the electoral law of 1824, the new Sovereign Constituent Congress of the Nation assembled in the Capital. The whole country substantially had given in its adhesion to the new Government. Santa Anna had returned from exile. In his reply to the Minister of War, September 14, 1846, he acknowledged the "decree of the Supreme Government, embracing a programme for the due celebration of the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1824," the assumption by "himself" of the Supreme Executive Power, on the anniversary of the "glorious cry of Dolores."

Professions of Santa Anna.

He added, "My satisfaction is extreme to observe the enthusiasm with which preparations are made to celebrate the two great blessings which have fallen upon this nation,—her independence and her liberty,—and I am penetrated with the deepest gratitude to find that my arrival at the Capital will be made to contribute to the solemnities of so great an occasion. I shall make my entrée into that city to-morrow at mid-day, and desire, in contributing my share to the National Jubilee, to observe such a course as may best accord with my duties to my country,—beloved of my heart,—and with the due respect to the sovereign will of the people.

"I have been called by the voice of my fellow-citizens to exercise the office of Commander-in-chief of the Army of the Republic." "I now see a terrible contest with a perfidious and daring enemy, in which the Mexican Republic

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must re-conquer the insignia of her glory, and a fortunate issue, if victorious; or disappear from the face of the earth, if so unfortunate as to be defeated."

"I also see a treacherous faction raising its head from her bosom, which is calling up a form of Government detested by the united nation, proposing as preferable submission to a foreign dominion. And I behold at last, that after much vacillation, that nation has resolved to establish her right to act for herself, and to arrange such a form of Government as best suits her wishes."

"Your Excellency will at once perceive how great an error I should commit, in assuming the Supreme Magistracy, when my duty calls me to the field to fight against the enemies of the Republic. I should disgrace myself if, when called to the post of danger, I should spring to that of power."

"The elections for Members of Congress to form the Constitution which the people wish to adopt are proceeding. That Congress will now soon convene, and while I shall be engaged in the conflict, in armed defence of her independence, the nation will place such safeguards around her liberties as may best suit herself."

The first and all-absorbing business of the Congress and the crisis was, to procure resources to carry on the government, and continue the war then pending with the United States. The conflict between the Government and the "Clergy" has already been alluded to in the sketch of Juarez.

DON VALENTIN GOMEZ FARIAS.

"Citizen Valentin Gomez Farias, one of the earliest, most constant, and honored liberal republicans, occupied the Presidential chair. He brought forward, as the only

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means of supplying the indispensable necessities of the nation, the celebrated law for the loan of fourteen millions of dollars, to be raised upon the property of the clergy; and in the event of the impossibility of the negotiation, then the sale of said property until the requisite amount should be raised.

"There were three parties in the Congress: 1. That of the 'old regime,' the clerical and monarchical interests, a small minority. 2. The radical republican party, Rejon, Ramirez and Juarez as their leaders. 3. The moderates, who were strongly represented, and headed by Otero.

"The monarchists and the moderates attacked the law. The Republicans sustained it. After a masterly and brilliant discussion, long to be remembered in the annals of Mexico, the bill passed by a small majority. The power and eloquence with which Rejon, Ramirez, and Juarez supported the measure, it has been said, would have attracted universal attention, had not the echoes of their thrilling, patriotic appeals been silenced by the thunders of foreign guns reverberating along the shores of the gulf and the Pacific."

Protest of the Vicar-General.

During the discussion, the Vicar-general of Mexico sent in a protest against the bill, which was read to the Chambers. But the measure was deemed just, and indispensable to the salvation of the Republic. The decree was approved by the President, and was promulgated the following day.

In three days, the Archbishop's chapter issued a formal protest against the law, as violating the fundamental principles of the church, and the decisions of the Council of Trent.

"The opposition of the church party extended throughout the country. The priesthood denounced the govern-

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ment, as favoring the cause of the enemies of the faith. In the cities and large towns, where religious establishments and ecclesiastics existed in great numbers, the excitement and opposition were violent. The protest of the Archbishop's chapter was followed by others from Puebla, Queretaro, and other States, the clergy using everywhere all the arts known to them, to stir the popular mind against Farias and the Government. In 1835, when he supported a similar measure, the hatred and instigations of the clergy compelled him to fly for his life."

Power of the Priesthood over the People.

The passions and resistance excited by the clergy made it impossible to execute the law. The officers charged with the duty were assailed by the multitude. By priestly domination they were led to believe, that an Archbishop and ten Bishops, two hundred Cathedral Dignitaries, five thousand Priests and Fathers of all orders, and perhaps five thousand more inmates of convents, nunneries, and religious houses, enjoying the accumulated ecclesiastical acquisitions of three hundred years, to the amount of more than *three hundred millions* of the most valuable property of the nation, a large portion of its available wealth—who held all its offices of honor and of trust—who had controlled all its measures of domestic administration and of foreign policy in all things, temporal and spiritual—who were living in luxury and ease, should be exempt from bearing any share in the pecuniary burdens of the State. It was sacrilege to tax a Priest. It was piety and patriotism in the masses to support both Church and State.

Anathemas.

All the penalties of the inquisition, except the fagot and the stake, were denounced against the Government and its executive officers, and all who should participate in the purchase or sale of the estates of the Church. There were no buyers.

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The same scenes enacted in England in the reign of King John were repeated here.

Ecclesiastical weapons.

Not content with this opposition, the clergy wielded, with all its well-known effect, that subtle, insidious weapon, spiritual power, which appalls the minds of an unenlightened population. The cathedrals and churches were closed; the altars robed in mourning; no mass, no swinging censer of incense, no prayer, no benediction, no marriage rite nor baptism, no sacrament except for the sick and the dying, and no mass for the souls of the dead.

Popular effect.

The accompaniments of such a state of things—of the priestly game on the one hand, and popular impressions on the other, can be more easily imagined than described. Multitudes cursed the Government. Public journals in the interest of the clergy, openly counselled rebellion against the Executive and the Congress, in order to defeat "the sacrilegious attempt to despoil the Ministers of Heaven of their sacred wealth."

Indomitable firmness of Farias.

President Farias, with a firmness and devotion to the principle of "equality before the law," that entitles him to the everlasting gratitude of those who mean to live and die to establish "human rights," was neither intimidated nor deterred from his course by the denunciations of the priests, or the threats of their deluded people.

The Clerical Revolution.

But the clergy were indefatigable. They sowed dissensions among the people, the soldiery, and the government, until the city was ripe for the result, when Don Matias Pena y Barrigan, a monarchist and an ally of the clergy, headed an insurrection, and issued his pronunciamento against the Federal system and Gomez Farias.

This act in the Mexican drama closed by the return

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of Santa Anna to the Capital, under a compromise with the clerical and monarchical party, who had so long before announced their purpose to erect a monarchy, and invite a Foreign Prince to the throne! the same party that subsequently, in 1863, welcomed the foreign invaders at Puebla, with all the pomp the Mexican Hierachy could display.

Defection of Santa Anna.

Santa Anna, whose professions and oath we have above recorded, on the 24th of March, 1847, accepted a welcome from those whom, six months before, he pronounced enemies of his country, and is inaugurated their President with all the honors—a Mass and Te Deum in the Cathedral.

English view of Santa Anna.

The London Chronicle of June 15, 1847, said of this event, "This is the third time Santa Anna has held in his hand the destinies of his country, and three times he has shown himself unequal to the task. The events of the year 1847 have been but a repetition of those of 1835 and 1841; at each of the three periods he has brought ruin upon Mexico, and his fall will now, it is to be hoped, prove irretrievable."

During his Dictatorship, he abolished the Institute of Sciences in Oajaca, for its liberal principles, and on July 1, 1854, he commissioned Señor Gutierrez Estrada "to negotiate in Europe for the establishment of a Monarchy in Mexico," with powers as follows:

"I confer upon him, by these presents, the full powers necessary to enter into arrangements and make the proper offers at the Courts of London, Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, to obtain from those Governments, or from any one of them, the establishment of a Monarchy, derived from any of the Royal Races of those powers, under qualifications and conditions to be established by special instructions."

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PART VII.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

PROGRESSIVE STEPS TOWARDS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC.

The three stages of the Revolution.

THE Mexican Revolution, as a whole, involved three great events or proceedings: 1. The throwing off the *yoke of Spain*, and the maintenance of an independent organic existence. 2. The overthrow of the ecclesiastical system *at home*, which like the pall of Egypt overshadowed the whole land. 3. The construction of a new government, on principles in harmony with the "rights of man," and the spirit of modern civilization. The latter implied a complete reconstruction of society in all the domain of government, of religious institutions, and of the entire fabric of civil, social, and educational life.

The first Congress.

After the first really national Congress, and the Constitution of 1824, the work of reorganization was embarrassed and hampered by the perpetual opposition of the Church party. They left no measures untried to defeat the designs and efforts of the Republican party to establish order and law, under the protection of a free Constitutional government. And yet every outbreak and every outrage was overruled for the furtherance of both civil and religious freedom, on broader and firmer foundations. Every step in the way, every attempted re-

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actionary movement turned out for the destruction of some lingering relic, or dangerous buttress of the old despotism.

Action and reaction.

From 1824 to 1853, the country was rent and torn by a succession of conflicts, in which the distinctive principles of the two great parties were ever uppermost. The Church power was wielded with indefatigable and unscrupulous energy, to baffle the Republicans, and stay the progress of constitutional freedom. But its march was irresistible. There were pronunciamentos and "Plans," "Bases of Political organization," Centralized military dictatorships, and schemes at home and schemes abroad to destroy the Republic, to establish a monarchy, with a Foreign, a Bourbon Prince, upon the throne, to perpetuate the sway of the Priesthood, and entrench them, in their long-cherished immunities and monopolies. In all the plans of the church party, "The Roman Catholic Religion," to the exclusion of all others, was to be the Religion of the State, and the exercise of any and every other forbidden."

The plan of Tacubaya.

There was the "plan of Tacubaya," in 1841, under the inspiration of Santa Anna, in conjunction with the Church party and officers of the army. One hundred and ninety-one individuals proclaimed the existing Constitution suspended, and displaced by another. A new Congress was called, a junta created, to be named by the General-in-chief of the army, (Santa Anna.) The junta was to elect the provisional President, who was to be "invested with all the powers necessary to reorganize the nation, and all the branches of the administration;" in other words, with supreme power. The General selected the junta, and the junta selected him. And this is a fair specimen of the reactionary movements of the "old regime."

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CHAPTER II.

THE REVOLUTION OF AYUTLA—1853.

The triumph of Republicans.

THE great final, triumphant step in the regeneration of Mexico, was irrevocably taken in 1853, by the "PLAN of AYUTLA," proclaimed by Generals Alvarez and Comonfort.

During the dictatorship of Santa Anna, the liberal party had made steady progress throughout the Republic. They aimed at radical reforms in the government, and were indefatigable in extending a knowledge of their principles and objects. The clergy, equally intent upon opposing both, made every possible effort to uphold the Dictator, in a course and policy which genuine Mexicans detested. As most other nations would have done, they repudiated the idea of inviting or imposing a *foreign monarchy* upon themselves, and looked upon Santa Anna as a traitor to his country, a violator of his oath, and recreant to the most natural and deep-seated instincts of a patriotic and loyal people.

The leaders.

Generals Alvarez and Comonfort were the leaders, during this period, in the great movement of the Republicans against the Church party under Santa Anna. Alvarez, honored and trusted for his devoted patriotism and incorruptible integrity, was the most prominent in asserting and maintaining the reforms embodied in the "PLAN of AYUTLA," and was Commander-in-chief of the Republican forces, but from his advanced age and infirmities, was less conspicuous in the active service of the campaign.

General Comonfort was, in character, political opinions, and associations, of the *moderate party*, but in this move-

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ment allied himself with the Republicans, and by his activity and prestige contributed greatly to their success in the "PLAN of AYUTLA."

Defeat of the Church party.

Santa Anna and the "Church Party" made a desperate struggle to defeat it. But the general indignation at the defection of the former, a pledged and sworn defender of the Republic, the justice and beneficence of the principles and objects proclaimed at Ayutla, together with the character of the patriotic leaders of the movement, and the numbers of their forces, overcame all opposition. It was a signal triumph. The Church power was overthrown; Santa Anna fled the country. On the 4th of October, 1855, a Republican assembly was convoked at Cuernavaca, about sixty miles south of Mexico. General Alvarez was elected President, who immediately called Juarez to his cabinet as Secretary of State for the Departments of Justice, Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Public Instruction. On the 17th of October, the President issued a proclamation for an election of delegates to a national Congress, to meet "*for the purpose of reconstituting the nation, under the form of a popular representative democratic republic.*"

Precarious victory.

The state of parties, however, did not encourage the hope of a long continuance of this administration. The composition of the Cabinet of President Alvarez was of such heterogeneous elements, taken from the republican and from the moderate parties, as to interpose the most serious obstacles to the progress of radical reforms. Comonfort himself could not be relied upon to stand firm, in the face of the Church party, and of the remains of the army abandoned by Santa Anna. This was, however, greatly demoralized by partial dissolution and the onward sweep of the reform movement. Still

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there was power enough and influence over it left, to occasion great uneasiness and uncertainty.

Policy of the Republicans.

Juarez, Ocampo, and the Republican party were desirous to do away with the army, as containing elements of danger and disorder in the work of the reconstruction of the State. They promulgated everywhere the desire and the right to constitute a government "Of the People," "By the People," "For the People," unembarrassed by the presence and possible opposition of an unfriendly military power. Comonfort was inclined to retain, recruit, and reform the army, in which the whole Church party, of course, and the moderates generally, concurred.

Under these circumstances, it was next to impossible to bring about any measures favorable to the Republican party.

"THE JUAREZ LAW" FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.*

The law of Juarez.

One of the first acts of President Alvarez was the proclamation, on the 22d of November, 1855, of the celebrated law "for the administration of justice," known as the "Law of Juarez." This law, although it embodied great and essential reforms in the administration of justice, was chiefly opposed because it abolished the *whole system of class legislation*, suppressed the military and ecclesiastical *fueros*—the privileged and special tribunals and charters of the clergy and the army—and established, for the first time in Mexico, *equality of the citizens before the law.* This was a terrible blow to the Church party, divesting them of a mighty power which these immunities and privileges enabled them to exercise over the two great controlling organizations of the Repub-

*See Appendix.

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lic. Exempted from the common laws of the people, and vested with singular rights, charters, and franchises, they maintained a caste and a clique in the body politic as selfish and oppressive as it was odious; always evading the laws of the nation, and arrogating to themselves all the prerogatives of an exclusive aristocracy.

Approval of the Law.

The law met with the approval of an immense majority throughout the Republic. But the Church party and the moderates became pledged to its overthrow. Comonfort, displeased with the law and its author, entered into a compromise with the Church party in opposition to it. Covertly or indirectly he incited various military revolts which broke out on the promulgation of the law, and, aided by all the party influence he could bring to bear, finally induced President Alvarez, in view of his age, infirmities, and the cares of the government, to resign the Presidency, and to nominate himself instead, as "President substitute" of the nation.

"The Law of Justice," however, continued in force, because, on the one hand Comonfort dared not at once to revoke it, and on the other, the constituent Congress shortly afterwards gave it its sanction."

Final adoption of the Constitution.

After the success of the "Plan of Ayutla," the overthrow of the Church party, and the flight of Santa Anna, in 1855, the Constituent Congress, convoked by the proclamation of General Alvarez on the 17th of October, assembled on the 18th of February, 1856. It continued in session one year, framed and adopted the Constitution, which was sworn to on the 3d of February, 1857, and became from that time the supreme organic law of the Republic of Mexico. The government under it was officially recognized by the representatives of foreign powers.

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The Constitution provided for the election of a new Congress, and of a President, whose term of office should begin on the 1st of December, 1857, and continue four years; and that in the event of the absence of the President, his office should devolve upon the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court.

The following is the Constitution:

CHAPTER III.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

Ignacio Comonfort, President Substitute of the Mexican Republic, to the inhabitants of the same.

Be it known that the extraordinary constituent congress has decreed as follows:

In the name of God, and by the authority of the Mexican people—

The representatives of the different States, the district and territories that comprise the republic of Mexico, called by the plan proclaimed in Ayutla on the 1st of March, 1854, reformed in Acapulco on the 11th of the same month and year, and published by the convention of October 17, 1855, in order to constitute the nation under the democratic republican form, representative and popular, putting in exercise the powers with which they are vested, comply with their high charge by decreeing the following

CONSTITUTION

Of the Mexican republic, upon the indestructible base of its legitimate independence, proclaimed the 16th of September, 1810, and consummated on the 27th of September, 1821.

TITLE I.

Section first.—Of the rights of man.

ARTICLE 1. The Mexican people recognize that the rights of

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man are the basis and the object of social institutions. Wherefore it is declared, that all the laws and the authorities of the country must respect and sustain the guarantees established by the present constitution.

ARTICLE 2. *All are born free in the republic.* Slaves that set foot upon the national territory recover by that single act their liberty, and have the right to the protection of the laws.

ARTICLE 3. *Education is free.* The law shall determine what professions need license for their exercise, and with what requisites relative thereto.

ARTICLE 4. Every man is free to adopt such profession or industrial pursuit as he may prefer, the same being useful and honorable, and to enjoy the products thereof. Neither shall any one be hindered in the exercise of such profession or industrial pursuit unless by judicial sentence, when the same prejudices the rights of a third person, or by executive order, dictated in terms prescribed by law, in case the same offends the rights of society.

ARTICLE 5. No one shall be forced to give his personal labor without just remuneration, and without his full consent. The law shall not authorize any contract having for its object the loss or the irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of man, whether the same be for labor, education, or religious vows. Neither shall the law authorize agreements by which a man stipulates his own proscription or exile.

ARTICLE 6. *The expression of opinions* shall not be the object of any inquisition, judicial or administrative, except when the same is an attack upon morals, assails the rights of third parties, incites to any crime or offence, or disturbs public order.

ARTICLE 7. *The liberty of writing and publishing works* on whatsoever subjects is inviolable. No law nor authority shall establish previous censorship, nor exact bonds from the authors or printers, nor limit the liberty of the press, which has no limits but with regard to private life, to morals, and the public peace. The crimes of the press shall be judged by one jury that shall determine the fact, and by another that shall apply the law and fix the penalty.

ARTICLE 8. *The right of petition* is inviolable, exercised in

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writing, and in a manner respectful and pacific; but in political matters it can only be exercised by citizens of the republic. To all petitions shall be returned the written opinion of the authority to whom they may have been directed, upon whom the obligation is imposed of making known the result to the petitioner.

ARTICLE 9. To none shall be limited *the right to associate or reunite pacifically* for whatsoever lawful object; but only the citizens of the republic can assemble in order to take part in the political affairs of the country. No armed assembly has the right of deliberation.

ARTICLE 10. All men have the right to possess and carry arms for their security and legitimate defence. The law shall determine what shall be prohibited, and the penalty to be incurred for carrying them.

ARTICLE 11. *All men have the right of entering and leaving the republic*, of travelling through its territory, and of changing their residence without the necessity of letters of security, passports, salvo conducta, or other similar requisite. The exercise of this right shall not prejudice the legitimate faculties of the judicial or administrative authority in cases of criminal or civil responsibility.

ARTICLE 12. *There are not, nor shall there be*, recognized in the republic, *titles of nobility, nor prerogatives, nor hereditary honors.* Solely the people, legitimately represented, may decree recompenses in honor of those that have given or are rendering eminent services to their country or to humanity.

ARTICLE 13. In the Mexican republic *no one shall be judged by special laws, nor by special tribunals. No person or corporation can have fueros*, nor enjoy emoluments that are not in compensation for a public service, and that are established by law. Martial law shall exist solely for crimes and offences that have exact connexion with military discipline. The law shall prescribe with clearness the cases included in this exception.

ARTICLE 14. *No retroactive law shall be passed.* No one shall be judged or sentenced except under laws of date anterior to the fact and exactly applicable to the case, and by a tribunal which shall have been previously established by law.

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ARTICLE 15. Treaties shall never be made for the extradition of political offenders, nor for that of those criminals under the common law, who shall have been held in the country where the offence was committed in the condition of slaves; nor shall conventions or treaties be made by which in any manner are altered the rights and guarantees which this constitution secures to the man and to the citizen.

ARTICLE 16. *No one may be molested in his person, family, domicile, papers, or possessions*, except in virtue of a written order from a competent authority, based upon legal cause for the proceeding. In case of high crimes, all persons may apprehend the offenders and their accomplices, putting them without delay at the disposal of the nearest authorities.

ARTICLE 17. No one can be arrested for debts of a character purely civil. No one may exercise violence in reclaiming his rights. Tribunals are established for administering justice; this shall be gratuitous, judicial costs are therefore abolished.

ARTICLE 18. Imprisonment shall only take place for offences which merit personal punishment. In whatever stage of the proceedings it shall appear that the accused may not be liable to this penalty, he shall be put at liberty under bail. In no case shall the imprisonment be prolonged for default of payment of fees, or whatever other furnishing of money.

ARTICLE 19. No detention shall exceed the term of three days, except upon proof of sufficient reason for imprisonment, in conformity with the requisites required by law. The sole lapse of this time shall render responsible the authority that orders or consents to it, and the agents, officers, or jailors that execute it. All maltreatment in the apprehension or confinement of prisoners, all hardship which shall be inflicted without legal motive, and all taxes or contributions in the prisons, are abuses which shall be corrected by the laws and severely punished by the authorities.

ARTICLE 20. In all criminal trials, the accused shall have the following guarantees: First. That of being informed of the motive of the proceeding and the name of the accuser, if there should be one. Second. That of taking his preparatory declara-

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tion within forty-eight hours, computed from the time of the order for his arrest from the judge. Third. That of being confronted with the witnesses against him. Fourth. That he shall be furnished with the facts and averments contained in the accusation, in order to prepare his defence. Fifth. That of being heard in defence by himself or by counsel, or by both, according as he may desire. In case of having no one to defend him, he shall be presented with a list of the official counsel, that he may select the one, or the ones he may desire.

ARTICLE 21. The application of punishment, properly such, belongs to the judicial authority. Political or administrative authorities can only impose, as corrections, fines not exceeding five hundred dollars, and confinement not exceeding one month, in cases and manner expressly determined by law.

ARTICLE 22. *There shall be forever prohibited penalties of mutilation, and of infamy, branding, flogging, the bastinado, torture of whatever species, excessive fines, confiscation of property,* or whatever other unsuitable or unusual punishment.

ARTICLE 23. In order to abolish *the penalty of death,* the administrative power is charged with establishing, without delay, a penitentiary system. Until then *it shall be abolished for political offences,* and shall not be used in other than cases of high treason during foreign war, highway robbery, arson, parricide, murder with malice premeditated or for gain, high military offences, and for piracy, as defined by law.

ARTICLE 24. No criminal proceeding may have more than three instances. No one shall be tried twice for the same offence, whether he be absolved or condemned by the judgment. The practice of exempting from the regular course of proceedings shall be abolished.

ARTICLE 25. *Sealed correspondence circulating by the mails shall be inviolable.* The violation of this guarantee is an offence which the law shall severely chastise.

ARTICLE 26. In time of peace, no military authority may exact quarters, transportation, or other service, real or personal, without the consent of the proprietor. In time of war it may only be taken in the manner prescribed by law.

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ARTICLE 27. Private property shall not be taken without the consent of the owner, except in cases of public utility and with previous indemnification. The law shall determine the authority that may make the appropriation in such cases, and the requisites for its exercise. *No corporation, civil or ecclesiastical*, whatever may be its character, denomination, or object, *shall* have legal power to *acquire in proprietorship*, or to *administer for itself real estate*, with the sole exception of edifices destined exclusively and directly to the purpose or object of the institution.

ARTICLE 28. *Monopolies shall not be established*, nor places for the sale of privileged goods, nor prohibitions in the character of so-called protections to industry, excepting solely those relative to the coining of money, to the mails, and to those privileges which, for a limited time, are conceded by the law to the inventors or perfectors of any improvement.

ARTICLE 29. In cases of invasion, grave disturbance of the public peace, or whatever cause which may put society in great peril or conflict, solely the President of the republic in concurrence with the council of ministers, and with the approbation of the congress of the union, and in the recess of this, of the permanent deputation, may suspend the guarantees established by this constitution, with exception of those that assure the life of man; but such suspension shall be only for a limited time, by means of general provisions, and of such a character as not to favor a determined individual purpose. If the suspension take place during the session of congress, this shall grant such authorization as they shall esteem necessary to enable the executive to confront the circumstances. If it shall take place during recess, the permanent deputation shall, without delay, convoke the congress for its advice and action.

Section second.—Of Mexicans.

ARTICLE 30. *They are Mexicans:* First. Who are born within or without the republic, of Mexican fathers. Second. Strangers that are naturalized in conformity with the laws of the federation. Third. Strangers who acquire real estate in the re-

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public, or have Mexican sons; providing always, they do not manifest their resolution to preserve their nationality.

ARTICLE 31. It is obligatory upon all Mexicans: First. To defend the independence, the territory, the honor, the rights, and the interests of their country. Second. To contribute towards public expenses, as well of the federation as of the State and municipality where they may reside, in an equitable and proportional manner, as shall be prescribed by the laws.

ARTICLE 32. *Mexicans shall be preferred to strangers under equality of circumstances for all public employments, trusts, or commissions* named by the authorities, when the quality of citizenship shall not be indispensable.

Laws shall be formed for improving the condition of Mexican laborers, providing premiums for those who distinguish themselves in whatever science or art, stimulating industry, and founding colleges and practical schools of art and industry.

Section third.—Of strangers.

ARTICLE 33. *Those are strangers* who do not possess the qualifications determined in article 30. They are entitled to the guarantees established by section first, title first, of the present constitution, except that in all cases the government has the right to expel those who are pernicious to society.

It is obligatory upon them to contribute towards public expenses in the manner that may be prescribed by the laws, and to obey and respect the institutions, laws, and authorities of the country, submitting to the judgments and sentences of the tribunals, without power to seek other protection than that which the laws concede to Mexican citizens.

Section fourth.—Of Mexican citizens.

ARTICLE 34. *Those are citizens of the republic* who, having the quality of Mexicans, have also the following requisites: First. Eighteen years of age if married, or twenty-one if not married. Second. An honest means of livelihood.

ARTICLE 35. The prerogatives of citizens are: First. To vote

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at popular elections. Second. To be voted for, for any office subject to popular election, and of being selected for any other employment or commission, having the requisite qualifications established by law. Third. To associate to discuss the political business of the country. Fourth. To take arms in the army or in the national guard, in defence of the republic and its institutions. Fifth. To exercise in all cases the right of petition.

ARTICLE 36. It is obligatory upon citizens of the republic: First. To be registered in the poll-list of his municipality, stating the property of which he is possessed, and the industry, profession, or labor by which he subsists. Second. To enlist in the national guard. Third. To vote at popular elections in the district to which he belongs. Fourth. To assist in the conduct of popular elections; which services, however, shall be subject to remuneration.

ARTICLE 37. The character of citizen is lost: First. By naturalization in a foreign country. Second. *By serving officially the government of another country, accepting its decorations, titles, or employments*, without previous permission from the federal congress, excepting literary, scientific, or benevolent titles, which may be accepted freely.

ARTICLE 38. The law shall prescribe the cases and the form in which may be lost or suspended the rights of citizenship, and the manner in which they may be regained.

TITLE II.

Section first.—Of the national sovereignty and the form of government.

ARTICLE 39. *The national sovereignty resides essentially and originally in the people. All public power springs from the people and is instituted for their benefit. The people have at all times the inalienable right of altering or modifying their form of government.*

ARTICLE 40. *The Mexican people voluntarily constitute themselves a democratic, federal, representative republic, formed of States free and sovereign* in all that concerns their interior gov-

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ernment, but united in a federation established according to the principles of this fundamental law.

ARTICLE 41. The people exercise their sovereignty by means of federal officers in cases belonging to the federation, and through those of the States in all that relates to the internal affairs of the States, in the manner respectively established by this federal constitution, and by the constitutions of the States, which latter shall never conflict with the federal compact.

Section second.—Of the integral parts of the federation and of the national territory.

ARTICLE 42. The national territory comprises the integral parts of the federation, and the adjacent islands in both seas.

ARTICLE 43. The integral parts of the federation are: The States of Aguas Calientes, Colima, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Guerrero, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon y Coahuila, Oajaca, Puebla, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Valle de Mexico, Vera Cruz, Yucutan, Zacatecos, and the Territory of Lower California.

ARTICLE 44. The States of Aguas Calientes, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Durango, Guerrero, Mexico, Puebla, Queretaro, Sinaloa, Sonora, Taumaulipas, and the Territory of Lower California, preserve the limits which they now have.

ARTICLE 45. The States of Colima and Tlaxcala preserve in their new character of States the limits which they had as territories of the federation.

ARTICLE 46. The State of the Valley of Mexico is formed of the territory actually composing the federal district, but the erection into a State shall only have effect when the supreme federal authorities shall be removed to another place.

ARTICLE 47. The State of Neuvo Leon y Coahuila comprises the territory which heretofore composed the two States of which it is now formed, except the part of the hacienda of Bonanza, which is reincorporated in Zacatecas, in the same terms as were established before its incorporation with Coahuila.

ARTICLE 48. The States of Guanajuato, Jalisco, Michoacan, Oajaca, San Luis Potosi, Tabasco, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, and Zac-

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atecas recover the extension and limits which they had on the 31st of December, 1852, with the alterations which are established in the following article.

ARTICLE 49. The town of Contepec, which has belonged to Guanajuato, is incorporated in Michoacan. The municipality of Ahualulco, which has belonged to Zacatecas, is incorporated in San Luis Potosi. The municipalities of Ojo Caliente and San Francisco de los Adames, which have belonged to San Luis, as well as the towns of Neuva, Tlaxcala, and San Andres del Teul, which have belonged to Jalisco, are incorporated in Zacatecas. The department of Tuxpan continues to form part of Vera Cruz. The canton of Huimauguillo, which has belonged to Vera Cruz, is incorporated in Tabasco.

TITLE III.

Of the division of powers.

ARTICLE 50. *The supreme power* of the federation *is divided* for its exercise *into legislative, executive, and judicial.* Two or more of these powers can never be united in the same person, nor the legislative power be deposited in one individual.

Section first.—Of the legislative power.

ARTICLE 51. The exercise of *the supreme legislative power is deposited in one assembly*, which shall be denominated *the Congress of the Union.*

Paragraph first.—Of the election and installation of congress.

ARTICLE 52. The congress of the union shall be composed of representatives elected in their entire number, each two years, by Mexican citizens.

ARTICLE 53. A deputy shall be named for each 40,000 inhabitants, or for each fraction over 20,000. The Territory in which the population shall be less than this shall still be entitled to send one deputy.

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ARTICLE 54. For each deputy proper shall be elected also a substitute.

ARTICLE 55. The election for deputies shall be indirect in the first degree, and by secret ballot, in the manner which shall be prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 56. In order *to be eligible as a deputy it is required* to be a Mexican citizen in the full exercise of his rights; to have completed 25 years of age on the day of the opening of the session; to be a resident of the State or Territory which makes the election, and *not to be an ecclesiastic*. Residence is not lost by absence in the discharge of any public trust bestowed by popular election.

ARTICLE 57. The position of deputy is incompatible with the holding of any federal commission or office from which a salary is received.

ARTICLE 58. The deputies proper, from the day of their election up to the day on which their trust is concluded, cannot accept any employment offered by the executive of the union by which pay is received, except with the previous license of congress. The same requisites are necessary for deputy substitutes, when in the exercise of their functions.

ARTICLE 59. The deputies are inviolable for their opinions expressed in the discharge of their trust, and shall never be called to account for them.

ARTICLE 60. Congress shall decide with regard to the election of its members, and determine any doubts that may occur regarding the same.

ARTICLE 61. Congress may not open its sessions nor exercise its functions without the concurrence of more than half of the total number of its members; but those present may convene on the day named by the law, and compel the attendance of absent members, under penalties which shall be designated.

ARTICLE 62. Congress shall have each year two ordinary sessions: the first shall commence on the 16th of September and shall terminate on the 15th of December, and the second, which cannot be prorogued, shall commence on the 1st of April and terminate on the last day of May.

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ARTICLE 63. At the opening of the sessions the president of the union shall be present and shall deliver a message exhibiting the state of the union. The president of congress shall reply in general terms.

ARTICLE 64. All resolutions of congress shall have no other character than that of laws or economical bills. The laws shall be communicated to the executive, signed by the president and two secretaries. Economical bills by two secretaries.

Paragraph second.—Of the introduction and passage of laws.

ARTICLE 65. The right of introducing laws belongs: First. To the president of the union. Second. To the deputies of the federal congress. Third. To the legislatures of the States.

ARTICLE 66. A project of law presented by the president of the republic, by the legislatures of the States, or by deputations from the same, shall pass immediately to a committee. Those that may be presented by the deputies shall be subject to such action as shall be prescribed by the rules of debate.

ARTICLE 67. All projects of law which may be rejected by congress cannot be presented again during the sessions of the year.

ARTICLE 68. The second session shall be destined in all preference to the examination of and action upon the estimates for the following fiscal year, to the passage of the necessary appropriations according the same, and to the examination of the accounts of the past year which shall be presented by the executive.

ARTICLE 69. The day before the last of the first session, the executive shall present to congress the estimates for the coming year and the accounts of the last year. Both shall pass to a committee composed of five representatives, which shall be named the first day, and which shall have the obligation of examining both documents and presenting a report upon them at the second session of the second term.

ARTICLE 70. The initiatories or projects of laws shall be subjected to the following course: First. The report of a committee.

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Second. One or two discussions in the manner expressed in the following clauses. Third. The first discussion shall take place on the day that may be designated by the president of congress, in conformity with the rules. Fourth. Upon the conclusion of this discussion a copy of the project shall be passed to the executive, that he may within the term of seven days give his opinion, or state that he does not desire to use this faculty. Fifth. If the opinion of the executive is favorable, the law shall be voted upon without further discussion. Sixth. If this opinion disagrees in whole or in part with the law proposed, the project shall be returned to the committee, that they may examine it *de novo*, taking into consideration the objections of the government. Seventh. The new report shall receive a new discussion, and upon the conclusion of this the vote upon the law shall be taken. Eighth. The approbation of an absolute majority of the deputies present.

ARTICLE 71. In cases of notorious urgency, qualified by the vote of two-thirds of the deputies present, congress may contract or dispense with the regular course prescribed by article 70.

Paragraph third.—Of the faculties of congress.

ARTICLE 72. Congress has the power: First. Of admitting new States or Territories into the federal union, incorporating them in the nation. Second. Of erecting Territories into States when they have a population of 80,000 inhabitants, and are proved to have the necessary elements for providing for their political existence. Third. Of forming new States within the limits of those existing, providing, always, that they have a population of 80,000 inhabitants, and are proved to have the necessary resources for their political existence. In all cases the legislatures of the States whose territory is proposed to be taken shall be heard, and their concurrence shall be necessary, as well as the ratification of a majority of the legislatures of the States. Fourth. Of arranging definitively the limits of the States, terminating the differences which may arise between them respecting the boundaries of their respective territories, except when these differences have the character of contentions. Fifth. Of changing the resi-

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dence of the supreme powers of the federation. Sixth. Of the internal government of the federal district and territories, upon the basis that *the citizens shall elect, by popular voice, their political, municipal, and judicial authorities, and fix the taxes necessary to meet their local expenditures.* Seventh. Of approving the federal estimates of expenditures, which shall be annually presented by the executive, and of imposing the taxes necessary therefor. Eighth. Of giving bases under which the executive may procure loans upon the faith of the national credit, and of approving said loans, and of recognizing and ordering the payment of the national debt. Ninth. Of establishing tariffs upon foreign commerce, and of removing, by means of general laws, onerous restrictions which may be established in the commerce between different States. Tenth. Of establishing general bases for mercantile legislation. Eleventh. Of creating and suppressing public employments of the federation, and of establishing, augmenting, or diminishing their salaries. Twelfth. Of ratifying the appointments that may be made by the executive of ministers, diplomatic agents and consuls, of the higher employees of the treasury, and of colonels and other higher officers in the army or national armed force. Thirteenth. Of ratifying the treaties, contracts, or diplomatic conventions which the executive may make. Fourteenth. Of declaring war upon the facts which may be presented by the executive. Fifteenth. Of regulating the mode in which privateers may be licensed; of dictating laws according to which captures by sea or land shall be declared good or bad; and also relative to maritime rights during peace and war. Sixteenth. Of permitting or refusing the entry of foreign troops into the territory of the federation, and of consenting to the station of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in the waters of the republic. Seventeenth. Of permitting the passage of the national troops without the limits of the republic. Eighteenth. Of creating and sustaining the army and armed force of the Union, and of regulating its organization and service. Nineteenth. Of making regulations for the purpose of organizing, arming, and disciplining the national guard, reserving to the citizens which compose it the appointment of the

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commanders and officers, and to the States the power of instructing them in conformity with the discipline prescribed by said regulations. Twentieth. Of giving its consent that the executive may order the national guard without their respective States or Territories, fixing the amount of the force necessary to be so used. Twenty-first. Of making laws regarding naturalization, colonization, and citizenship. Twenty-second. Of making laws regarding general means of communication, and regarding the post-office and mails. Twenty-third. Of establishing mints, prescribing the rules of their operation; of determining the value of foreign coin, and adopting a general system of weights and measures. Twenty-fourth. Of prescribing the rules under which the public land may be occupied or sold, and the price of the same. Twenty-fifth. Of conceding pardons for offences cognizable by the tribunals of the federation. Twenty-sixth. Of awarding rewards or recompense for eminent services rendered to the country, or to humanity; and privileges, for a limited time, to inventors or perfectors of any improvement. Twenty-seventh. Of proroguing, for thirty business days, the first term of its ordinary sessions. Twenty-eighth. Of forming rules for its internal regulation, and for compelling the attendance of absent members, and for correcting the faults or omissions of those present. Twenty-ninth. Of appointing and removing freely its secretaries and auditors, and of organizing these offices according to law. Thirtieth. Of making all laws which may be necessary and proper to render effective the foregoing powers, and all others conceded by this constitution to the powers of the union.

Paragraph fourth.—Of the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 73. During the recess of the congress of the union, there shall be a permanent deputation, composed of one deputy from each State and Territory, who shall be named by congress on the evening of the last day of its sessions.

ARTICLE 74. The powers of the permanent deputation are the following:

First. To give its consent to the use of the national guard in

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the cases spoken of in article 72, clause 20. Second. To determine by itself alone, or at the petition of the executive, the convocation of the congress in extraordinary session. Third. To approve in the case of appointments, as referred to in article 85, clause 3. Fourth. To receive the oath of the president of the republic, and of the ministers of the supreme court of justice, in the cases provided by this constitution. Fifth. To report upon all the business not disposed of, in order that the session which follows may immediately take up such unfinished business.

Section two.—Of the executive power.

ARTICLE 75. The exercise of the supreme executive power of the union shall be deposited in one sole individual, who shall be called President of the United Mexican States.

ARTICLE 76. The election of president shall be indirect in the first grade, and by secret ballot, in such manner as may be prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 77. In order to be president it is required to be a citizen of the Mexican republic by birth, in the exercise of his rights, to be thirty-five years of age at the time of election, *not to belong to the ecclesiastical state*, and to be a resident in the country at the time the election takes place.

ARTICLE 78. The president shall enter upon the exercise of his functions on the first day of December, and remain in office four years.

ARTICLE 79. In temporary default of a president of the republic, and in the vacancy before the installation of the newly elected, *the president of the supreme court of justice shall enter upon the exercise of the functions of president.*

ARTICLE 80. If the default of president be absolute, a new election shall be proceeded with, according to the provisions of article 76, and the one so elected shall exercise his functions until the last day of November of the fourth year following his election.

ARTICLE 81. The trust of president can only be resigned for grave cause, approved by congress, before whom shall be presented the resignation.

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ARTICLE 82. If, from whatever reason, the election of president shall not have been made and published by the 1st of December upon which the change is to take place, or if the newly elected is not able to enter promptly upon the exercise of his functions, the term of the preceding president shall nevertheless cease, and the supreme executive power shall be deposited *ad interim* in the president of the supreme court of justice.

ARTICLE 83. The president, in taking possession of his trust, shall swear before congress, and in its recess before the permanent deputation, in the following manner: "*I swear to discharge faithfully and patriotically the trust of President of the United Mexican States according to the constitution, and seeking in all things for the good and prosperity of the union.*"

ARTICLE 84. The president cannot leave the residence of the federal powers, nor the exercise of his functions, without grave motive, approved by congress, or in its recess by the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 85. The powers and obligations of the president are the following: First. To promulgate and enforce the laws passed by the congress of the union, attending in the administrative sphere to their exact observance. Second. To appoint and remove freely secretaries of state; to remove diplomatic agents and superior employés of the treasury; and to appoint and remove freely all other federal officers whose appointment or removal is not otherwise provided for in the constitution or by the laws. Third. To appoint ministers, diplomatic agents, and consuls general, with the approbation of congress, or in its recess of the permanent deputation. Fourth. To appoint, with the approbation of congress, colonels and other high officers in the army and national armed force, and the higher employés of the treasury. Fifth. To appoint all other officers of the army and national navy according to law. Sixth. To dispose of the permanent national armed force by sea or by land for the internal security and external defence of the federation. Seventh. To dispose of the national guard for the same objects, according to the provisions of clause 20th of article 72. Eighth. To declare war in the name of the United Mexican States, after the passage of the

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necessary law by the congress of the union. Ninth. To authorize privateers, subject to the basis fixed by congress. Tenth. To direct diplomatic negotiations, and to make treaties with foreign powers, submitting them to the ratification of the federal congress. Eleventh. To receive ministers or other envoys of foreign powers. Twelfth. To convoke congress in extraordinary session, with the consent of the permanent deputation. Thirteenth. To extend to the judicial power such assistance as may be necessary for the prompt exercise of its functions. Fourteenth. To open all classes of ports, establish frontier and maritime custom-houses, and prescribe their location. Fifteenth. To grant, in conformity with the laws, pardons to criminals sentenced for crimes cognizable by the federal tribunals.

ARTICLE 86. For the despatch of the business of the administrative departments of the federation, that number of secretaryships shall be appointed which may be prescribed by congress by a law, which shall also provide for the distribution of business, and prescribe what shall be the department of each secretary.

ARTICLE 87. To be secretary of state it is required to be a Mexican citizen by birth, being in the exercise of his rights, and having completed twenty-five years of age.

ARTICLE 88. All the regulations, decrees, and orders of the president shall be signed by the secretary of state charged with the branch to which the business belongs. Without this requisite they shall not be obeyed.

ARTICLE 89. The secretaries of state, immediately after the opening of the sessions of the first term, shall render an account to congress of the state of their respective departments.

Section third.—Of the judicial power.

ARTICLE 90. The exercise of the judicial power of the federation shall be deposited in a supreme court of justice, and in the district and circuit courts.

ARTICLE 91. The supreme court of justice shall be composed of eleven judges proprietary, four supremary judges, one attorney general, and one solicitor general.

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ARTICLE 92. Each one of the individuals composing the supreme court of justice shall hold office during six years, and their election shall be indirect in the first grade, according to the terms prescribed by the electoral law.

ARTICLE 93. To be eligible as a member of the supreme court of justice, it is required to be instructed in the science of law according to the judgment of the election, to be more than thirty-five years of age, and a Mexican citizen by birth, in the exercise of his rights.

ARTICLE 94. The members of the supreme court of justice upon entering upon the exercise of their trust shall make oath before congress, or, in its recess, before the permanent deputation, in the following manner: "*Do you swear to discharge faithfully and patriotically the trust of magistrate of the supreme court of justice, conferred upon you by the people, in conformity with the constitution, and seeking in all things the good and prosperity of the union?*"

ARTICLE 95. The duties of members of the supreme court of justice can only be resigned for grave reason, approved by congress, to whom the resignation shall be presented; in the recess of congress, before the permanent deputation.

ARTICLE 96. The law shall establish and organize the circuit and district courts.

ARTICLE 97. It belongs to the federal tribunals to take cognizance of: First. All controversies which may arise in regard to the fulfilment and application of the federal laws. Second. All cases pertaining to maritime law. Third. Those in which the federation may be a party. Fourth. Those that may arise between two or more States. Fifth. Those that may arise between a State and one or more citizens of another State. Sixth. Civil or criminal cases that may arise under treaties with foreign powers. Seventh. Cases concerning diplomatic agents and consuls.

ARTICLE 98. It belongs to the supreme court of justice to take cognizance from the first proceeding of controversies that may arise between one State and another, and of those wherein the union may be a party.

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ARTICLE 99. It also belongs to the supreme court of justice to decide regarding cases of jurisdiction among the federal courts, between these and those of the States, and between those of one State and those of another.

ARTICLE 100. In the rest of the cases comprehended in article 97, the supreme court of justice shall be a court of appeal, or rather of last resort, according to the graduation which the law may make in the jurisdiction of the circuit and district courts.

ARTICLE 101. The tribunals of the federation shall decide all questions that may arise: First. Under the laws or acts of whatever authority which violate individual guarantees. Second. Under the laws or acts of the federal authorities which invade or restrict the sovereignty of the States. Third. Under the laws or acts of the States which invade the exercise of the federal authority.

ARTICLE 102. All the decisions of which mention is made in the preceding article shall take place on the petition of the party aggrieved, and by means of formal judicial proceedings, as shall be prescribed by law. The sentence shall be always such as to affect private individuals only, and is intended as merely a protection in the special cases to which the process refers, without embracing any general declaration regarding the law or act in question.

TITLE IV.

Of the responsibility of public functionaries.

ARTICLE 103. The deputies to the congress of the union, the members of the supreme court of justice, and the secretaries of state, shall be held responsible for ordinary offences which they may commit during their term of office, as well as the crimes, faults, or omissions of which they may be guilty in the exercise of their trust.

The governors of the States are also responsible for infractions of the constitution and of federal law.

So is also the president of the republic; but during the term of his office he can only be accused in case of the offences of

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treason, express violation of the constitution, attack upon the electoral franchise, and grave crimes against public order.

ARTICLE 104. In case of ordinary crime, congress, sitting as a grand jury, shall declare, by an absolute majority of votes, if there is cause of proceeding against the accused, or not. If the latter, no further proceeding shall take place; if the former, the accused shall immediately be deprived of his office and subjected to the action of the ordinary tribunals.

ARTICLE 105. Official offences shall be cognizable by congress as a jury of accusation, and the supreme court of justice as a jury of sentence. The jury of accusation has for its object to declare, by an absolute majority of votes, if the accused is culpable or not. If the declaration is favorable, the functionary shall continue in the exercise of his trust; if it is condemnatory, the accused shall be immediately deprived of his office and placed at the disposition of the supreme court of justice. This in full court, and sitting as a jury of sentence, in the presence of the offender, the attorney general, and the accuser, if such there should be, shall proceed to apply, by an absolute majority of votes, the penalty which the law may have prescribed.

ARTICLE 106. After the sentence is pronounced of responsibility for official crime, no exercise of the pardoning power can be extended to the offender.

ARTICLE 107. Responsibility for official crimes or errors only maintains during the period of occupation of office and one year thereafter.

ARTICLE 108. With reference to the requirements of civil war there shall be no privileged class, nor exemption for any public functionary.

TITLE V.

Of the States of the federation.

ARTICLE 109. *The States shall adopt for their interior regulation the form of popular representative republican government.*

ARTICLE 110. The States may arrange among themselves, by friendly agreements, their respective limits, but such arrange-

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ments shall not go into effect without the approbation of the congress of the union.

ARTICLE 111. The States cannot in any case: First. Form alliances, treaties, or coalitions with other States, nor with foreign powers, excepting the coalitions which may be formed among the frontier States for offensive or defensive war against the Indians. Second. Grant letters of marque or reprisal. Third. Coin money, or emit paper money, or sealed paper.

ARTICLE 112. Neither may they, without the consent of the congress of the union: First. Establish tonnage duty, or any other port duty, nor impose contributions or duties upon importations or exportations. Second. Have at any time permanent troops or vessels-of-war. Third. Make war by itself upon any foreign power, except in case of invasion or such imminent peril as admits of no delay. In these cases immediate notice shall be given to the president of the republic.

ARTICLE 113. Each State has the obligation of delivering, without delay, the criminals of other States to the authorities that claim them.

ARTICLE 114. *The governors of the States are obliged to publish and cause to be obeyed the federal laws.*

ARTICLE 115. In each State of the federation entire faith and credit shall be given to the public acts, registers, and judicial proceedings of all the others. Congress may, by means of general laws, prescribe the manner of proving these acts, registers, and proceedings, and their effects.

ARTICLE 116. *The powers of the union shall protect the States against all invasion or exterior violence.* In case of internal disorder or rebellion they shall give equal protection, providing always that it be applied for by the legislature of the State, or by the governor, if the legislature is not in session.

TITLE VI.

General provisions.

ARTICLE 117. The powers which are not expressly conceded

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by this constitution to the federal authorities are understood to be reserved to the States.

ARTICLE 118. No person can at the same time hold two federal elective offices, but if elected to two, he may select between them.

ARTICLE 119. No payment of money shall be made that is not embraced in the fiscal estimates or determined by previous law.

ARTICLE 120. The president of the republic, the members of the supreme court of justice, the deputies, and other public officers of the federation popularly chosen, shall receive a compensation for their services, which shall be determined by law, and paid by the national treasury. This compensation cannot be renounced, and any law that augments or diminishes it shall not have effect during the period for which the functionary holds the office.

ARTICLE 121. *All public functionaries, without any exception, before taking possession of their offices, shall swear to observe and protect the constitution and the laws that emanate from it.*

ARTICLE 122. In time of peace no military authority can exercise more functions than are in exact connexion with military discipline. There shall be fixed and permanent military authority in the castles, ports, and storehouses which belong immediately to the federal government, or in encampments, barracks, or depots which may be established without the towns for the station of troops.

ARTICLE 123. *It belongs exclusively to the federal powers to exercise in matters of religious belief and discipline the intervention which may be prescribed by the laws.*

ARTICLE 124. From the first day of June, 1858, *alcabalas and interior custom-houses shall be abolished in all the republic.*

ARTICLE 125. The forts, quarters, storehouses, and other buildings of the government of the union shall be under the immediate inspection of the federal authorities.

ARTICLE 126. *This constitution, the laws of the congress of the union which emanate from it, and all treaties made or that may be made by the president of the republic with the approbation of congress, shall be the supreme law of all the union.* The judges

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of each State in giving their decisions shall do so in conformity with said constitution, laws, and treaties, anything to the contrary that there may be in the laws or constitution of the States notwithstanding.

TITLE VII.

Of the alterations of the constitution.

ARTICLE 127. The present constitution may be added to or altered. In order that additions or alterations may become part of the constitution, it is necessary that such additions or alterations shall be approved of by the congress of the union by the vote of two-thirds of those present, and that they should also be approved by a majority of the legislatures of the States.

The congress of the union shall take account of the votes of the legislatures and the declaration that the addition or alteration had been approved.

TITLE VIII.

Of the inviolability of the constitution.

ARTICLE 128. *This constitution shall not lose its force and vigor even if its observance be interrupted by any rebellion. In case that, by means of such an event, a government shall have been established contrary to the principles which it sanctions, immediately upon the people recovering their liberty its observance shall be re-established, and according to its provisions and the laws which have been framed in virtue of it, they shall be judged, as well those who have figured in the government emanating from the rebellion as those who have coöperated with it.*

Temporary article.

This constitution shall be published immediately, and shall be sworn to with the greatest solemnity in all the republic, but with the exception of the dispositions relative to the election of the supreme powers of the federation, and of the States, it shall

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not commence to have force until the 16th day of September, (1857), next ensuing, when the first constitutional congress is to be installed. Until then the president of the republic and the supreme court of justice, who are to continue in exercise of their functions until the inauguration of the individuals constitutionally elected, shall govern themselves in the discharge of their obligations and powers by the precepts of this constitution.

Dated in the hall of sessions of Congress, at Mexico, the 5th day of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven, and thirty-seventh of independence.

VALENTINE GOMEZ FARIAS,
Deputy for the State of Jalisco, President.

LEON GUZMAN,
Deputy for the State of Mexico, Vice-President.

For the State of Aguas Calientes, MANUEL BUENROSTRO.

For the State of Chiapas, FRANCISCO ROBLES, MATIAS CASTELLANOS.

For the State of Chihuahua, JOSE E. MUÑOZ, PEDRO IGNACIO IRIGOYEN.

For the State of Coahuila, SIMON DE LA GARZA Y MELO.

For the State of Durango, MARCELINO CASTAÑEDA, FRANCISCO ZARCO.

For the federal district, FRANCISCO DE P. CONDEJAS, JOSE MARIA DEL RIO, PONCIANO ARRIAGA, J. M. DEL CASTELLO VELASCO, MANUEL MORALES PUENTE.

For the State of Guanajuato, IGNACIO SIERRA, ANTONIO LEMUS, JOSE DE LA LUZ ROSAS, JUAN MORALES, ANTONIO AGUADO, FRANCISCO P. MONTAÑEZ, FRANCISCO GUERRERO, BLAS BALCARCEL.

For the State of Guerrero, FRANCISCO IBARRA.

For the State of Jalisco, ESPIRIDION MORENO, MARIANO FARANDA, JESUS ANAYA Y HERMOSILLO, ALBINO ARANDA, IGNACIO LOUIS VALLARTA, BENITO GOMEZ FARIAS, JESUS D. ROJAS, IGNACIO OCHOA SANCHEZ, GUILLERMO LANGLOIS, JOAQUIN M. DEGOLLADO.

For the State of Mexico, ANTONIO ESCUDERO, JOSE L. REVIL-

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LA, JULIAN ESTRADA, I. DE LA PEÑA Y BARRAGAN, ESTEBAN PAEZ, RAFAEL MARIA VILLAGRAN, F. FERNANDEZ DE ALFARO, JUSTINO FERNANDEZ, EULOGIO BARRERA, M. ROMERO RUBIO, MANUEL DE LA PEÑA Y RAMIREZ, MANUEL FERNANDO SOTO.

For the State of Michoacan, SANTOS DEGOLLADO, SABAS ITURBIDE, FRANCISCO G. ANAYA, RAMON I. ALCARAZ, FRANCISCO DIAS BARRIGA, LUIS GUTIERREZ CORREA, MARIANO RAMIREZ, MATEO ECHAIZ.

For the State of Nuevo Leon, MANUEL P. DE LLANO.

For the State of Oajaca, MARIANO ZAVALA, G. LARAZABAL, IGNACIO MARISCAL, JUAN N. CERQUEDA, FELIX ROMERO, M. E. GOYTIA.

For the State of Puebla, MIGUEL MARIA ARRIOJA, FERNANDO M. ORTEGA, GUILLERMO PRIETO, J. MARIANO VIADAS, FRANCISCO BANUET, MANUEL M. VARGAS, F. L. ESTRADO, JUAN N. IBARRA, JUAN N. DE LA PARRA.

For the State of Queretaro, IGNACIO REYES.

For the State of San Luis Potosi, FRANCISCO J. VILLALOBOS, PABLO TELLEZ.

For the State of Sinaloa, IGNACIO RAMIREZ.

For the State of Sonora, BENITO QUINTANA.

For the State of Tabasco, GREGORIO PAYRO.

For the State of Tamaulipas, LUIS GARCIA DE ARELLANO.

For the State of Tlaxcala, JOSE MARIANO SANCHEZ.

For the State of Vera Cruz, JOSE DE EMPARAN, JOSE MARIA MATA, RAFAEL GONZALEZ PAEZ, MARIANO VEGA.

For the State of Yucatan, BENITO QUIJANO, FRANCISCO INIESTRA, PEDRO DE BARANDA, PEDRO CONTRERAS ELIZALDE.

For the Territory of Tehuantepec, JOAQUIN GARCIA GRANADOS.

For the State of Zacatecas, MIGUEL AUZA, AGUSTIN LOPEZ DE NAVA, BASILIO PEREZ GALLARDO.

For the Territory of Lower California, MATEO RAMIREZ.

JOSE MARIA CORTES Y ESPARZA, for the State of Guanajuato, *Deputy Secretary.*

ISIDORO OLVERA, for the State of Mexico, *Deputy Secretary.*

JUAN DE DIOS ARIAS, for the State of Puebla, *Deputy Secretary.*

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J. A. GAMBOA, for the State of Oajaca, *Deputy Secretary.*

Wherefore, I order that it be printed, published, circulated, and that it be fully complied with in the terms which it prescribes.

Palace of the National Government, at Mexico, February 12, 1857.

IGNATIO COMONFORT.

The Citizen IGNATIO DE LA LLAVE,

Secretary of State and of the Department of Government.

I communicate it to you for its publication and fulfilment. God and liberty.

LLAVE.

MEXICO, *February* 12, 1857.

On the 1st of December, General Comonfort, having been duly elected, in the presence of the assembled Congress in the city of Mexico, took the oath to support the Constitution, and was duly inaugurated President.

On the 17th of December, General Zuloaga, acting in the interest of the Church party, and of Comonfort in his attempted revolutionary coup d'état and dictatorship, pronounced against the Constitution.

On the 11th of January, the same Zuloaga, instigated by the same clergy, with his famed "Zuloaga Brigade," denounced and abandoned Comonfort; and in less than a month from his inauguration, he was driven from the Capital. The military arm of the Church had transferred the supreme authority of the Republic, from the constitutionally elected President to a General, in violation of the provision of the Constitution, which devolved the vacant office upon the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. But the Church and the army had possession of the capital. Comonfort was flying in one direction to a foreign land, and Juarez, Chief-Justice, with the loyal members of the

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Cabinet, were hastening in another, to a place of safety, to conserve and re-establish the Constitutional Government.

On the 22d of January, Zuloaga convoked in the city of Mexico a junta of twenty-eight persons of his own choice, who in return nominated him as President of the Republic.

The following is a synopsis of the plan of Tacubaya proclaimed by Zuloaga:

1. The inviolability of all church property and church revenues, and the reëstablishment of former exactions.
2. The reëstablishment of the *fueros* or special rights of the church and the army. (Under the *fueros*, the military and clergy are responsible only to their own tribunals.)
3. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the sole and exclusive religion of Mexico.
4. The censorship of the press.
5. The maintenance of a high tariff, the restoration of the oppressive system of *alcavala*, or interior duties, and the continuance of special monopolies.
6. The exclusive system with regard to foreign immigration, confining it solely to immigrants from Catholic countries.
7. The overthrow of the constitution of 1857, and the establishment of an irresponsible central dictatorship, subservient solely to the church.
8. If possible, the restoration of a monarchy in Mexico, or the establishment of a European protectorship.

Juarez, with his associates, proceeded to Guanajuato, and there organized and established the government, which during the long war of the Intervention, they so nobly sustained, and which is to-day restored in the Capitol.

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PART VIII.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

In view of the facts and considerations which have been presented in this volume, it would seem eminently desirable to recall the origin and history of the Monroe Doctrine, so far as they may serve to indicate the true future "Policy" which the circumstances of the Government of the United States and of Mexico, demand. The interests to be protected, belong not only to the two Republics, but to the Continent and to the hemisphere.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

In 1803, the Government of Spain ceded to France Louisiana and the Floridas, and the territory West of the Mississippi. The United States, under the administration of President Jefferson, purchased the cession.

In the President's letter to Mr. Livingston, our then Minister in France, April 18th, 1802, he says:

"The cession of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France, works most sorely on the United States. On this subject, the Secretary of State has written to you fully, yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes on my mind. It completely reverses all the political relations of the United States, and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration, France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could

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have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interest. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our *natural friend*, as one with whom we never could have an occasion of difference. Her growth, therefore, we viewed as our own—her misfortunes, ours."

"There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market. * * * France, placing herself in that door, assumes to us the attitude of defiance. * * * France, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, * * * renders it impossible that France and the United States can long continue friends, when they meet in so irritable a position. They, as well as we, must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident, if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis."

"The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low-water mark. It seals the union of two nations who, in conjunction, can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high ground; and having formed and connected together a power, which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe, the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the Two Continents of America in sequestration, for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France,

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forces on us; as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect."

"It is not from fear of France, that we deprecate this measure proposed by her. For however greater her force is than ours, compared in the abstract, *it is nothing* in comparison of ours, when to be exerted on our soil. But it is from a sincere love of peace, and a firm persuasion that, bound to France by the interests and the strong sympathies still existing in the minds of our citizens, and holding relative positions which insure their continuance, we are secure of a long course of peace. Whereas, the change of friends, which will be rendered necessary if France changes that position, embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war of Europe. In that case, France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her. Will this short-lived possession have been an equivalent to her for the transfer of such a weight into the scale of her enemy? Will not the amalgamation of a young thriving nation continue to that enemy, the health and force, which are at present so evidently on the decline? And will a few years' possession of New Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say, she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies. She does not need it in time of peace, and in war she could not depend on them, because they would be so easily intercepted."

"I should suppose that all these considerations might, in some proper form, be brought into view of the government of France. Though stated by us, it ought not to give offence, because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controllable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them, not as

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things which we desire by any means, but as things we deprecate; and we beseech a friend to look forward and prevent them for our common interests."

"I have no doubt you have urged these considerations, on every proper occasion, with the government where you are. They are such as must have effect, if you can find means of producing thorough reflection on them by that government." * * *

"Every eye in the United States is now fixed on the affairs of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing, since the Revolutionary War, has produced more uneasy sensations throughout the body of the nation. Notwithstanding temporary bickerings with France, she has still a strong hold on the affections of our citizens generally."

"I have thought it not amiss, by way of supplement to the letters of the Secretary of State, to write you this private one, to impress you with the importance we affix to this transaction."

Subsequently, in another letter addressed to M. de Nemours, enclosing the above for his perusal, he wrote as follows:

"I wish you to be possessed of the subject, because you may be able to impress upon the government of France the inevitable consequence of their taking possession of Louisiana. * * * I believe that this measure will cost France, and perhaps not very long hence, a war which will annihilate her on the ocean, and place that element under the despotism of two nations, which I am not reconciled to the more because my own would be one of them. Add to this the exclusive appropriation of both continents of America, as a consequence."

"I wish the present order of things to continue, and

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with a view to this, I value highly a state of friendship between France and us. You know too well how sincere I have ever been in these dispositions, to doubt them. You know, too, how much I value peace, and how unwillingly I should see any event take place, which would render war a necessary resource, and that all our movements should change their character and object."

"I am thus open with you, because I trust that you will have it in your power to impress on that government considerations, in the scale against which, the possession of Louisiana is nothing."

"In Europe, nothing but Europe is seen, or *supposed to have any right* in the affairs of nations; but this little event of France possessing herself of Louisiana, which is thrown in as nothing—as a mere make-weight in the general settlement of accounts—this speck which now appears as an almost invisible point in the horizon, is the embryo of a tornado, which will burst on the countries on both sides of the Atlantic, and involve in its effects their highest destinies. That it may yet be avoided is my sincere prayer, and if you can be the means of informing the wisdom of Bonaparte of all its consequences, you have deserved well of both countries. Peace and abstinence from European interferences are our objects, and so will continue, while the present order of things in America remains undisturbed."

October 10, 1802, Mr. Jefferson wrote to Mr. Livingston again in answer to a letter from him, before he had received the previous letter of April 18th, thus:

"It is well to inform you, generally, that we stand completely corrected of the error that either the government or the nation of France has any remains of friendship for

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us. The portion of that country which forms an exception, though respectable in weight, is weak in numbers. On the contrary, it appears evident that an unfriendly spirit prevails in the most important individuals of the government towards us." * * *

In January, 1803, Mr. Jefferson sent Mr. Monroe "as Minister Extraordinary, to be joined with the ordinary one," "with discretionary powers, first, however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these, every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. * * * All eyes, all hopes are now fixed on you." * * *

In April, 1803, France ceded *the entire province of Louisiana* to the United States, for "60,000,000 of francs," and "certain considerations in favor of the inhabitants of the Province, and certain commercial privileges secured to France."

On the completion of this sale, Bonaparte is said to have exclaimed, "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States; I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride."

Louisiana had a coast-line on the Gulf of Mexico of 1,256 miles. The Islands belonging to the State had a coast-line of 994 miles, while the Mississippi river bounded or traversed in its course 800 miles of the territory.

The cession of France covered all the territory west of the Mississippi, as far north as the British possessions (except small portions occupied by Spain), including Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, most of Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territories.

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Origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

October 29th, 1808, President Jefferson wrote to the Governor of Louisiana:

"The Patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States; but it is our duty to say nothing, and to do nothing, for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see *Cuba and Mexico* remain in their present dependence; but *very unwilling to see them* in that of *either France* or *England, politically or commercially.* We consider *their interests and ours as the same*, and that the object of both must be to EXCLUDE ALL EUROPEAN INFLUENCE FROM THIS HEMISPHERE."

August 4th, 1820, Ex-President Jefferson wrote to Mr. William Short as follows:

"From many conversations with him" (M. Correa, appointed Minister to Brazil by the Government of Portugal), "I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an AMERICAN SYSTEM OF POLICY, totally independent of, and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally require *a meridian of partition through the ocean* which separates the two hemispheres, on *the hither side of which no European gun shall ever* be heard, *nor an American on the other;* and when, during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe, the lion and the lamb, within our regions, shall lie down together in peace." * * *

"The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will

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ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting, on the seas and territories of both Americas, the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun."

In subsequent letters to President Monroe, Mr. Jefferson expressed the following sentiments:

"I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States, *never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe.*"

As late as October, 1823, he wrote to the President thus:

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence." * * *

"Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to meddle with cis-Atlantic affairs. America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a *system of her own*, separate and apart from that of Europe." * * * "The war in which the present proposition might engage us (the proposed intervention of the Holy Alliance in the affairs of the South American Colonies) is not her war, but ours. Its object is to introduce and establish the American system, of keeping out of our land all Foreign powers,—of *never permitting* those of Europe to intermeddle with the affairs of our nations. It is to maintain our principle, not to depart from it." * * * *

"I could honestly join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition of any of those possessions; * * * *but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power, as auxiliary,*

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stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext,—and most especially, their transfer to any power, by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way."

All the foregoing acts and sentiments were followed by President Monroe's proclamation, in his message to Congress, December 2d, 1823, declaring that,

"Any attempt on the part of the European powers to 'extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere,' would be regarded by the United States as 'dangerous to our peace and safety,' and would accordingly be opposed;—a platform of principle upon this important subject, which has been approved by the prominent statesmen of the country, from the day of its proclamation to the present time."

Such was the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, and it is sufficiently conclusive as to the early purpose of the Fathers of the Republic, to hold our country and our continent forever exempt from European interference in any of the institutions, political, civil, or religious, of the people of the United States, or of the American Continent.

The last expression by the Executive, of the sentiments of the Government and of the people of the United States on this subject, was made by President Johnson, in his message in 1865, as follows: "From the moment of the establishment of our free institutions, the civilized world has been convulsed by revolutions in the interest of democracy or of monarchy; but, through all these revolutions, the United States have wisely and firmly refused to become the propagandists of Republicanism."

"It is the only government suited to our condition; but we have never sought to impose it upon others; and we have consistently followed the advice of Washington,

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to recommend it only by the careful preservation and prudent use of the blessing."

"During all the intervening period, the policy of the European powers, and of the United States has, on the whole, been harmonious. Twice, indeed, rumors of the invasion of some parts of America in the interest of monarchy have prevailed; twice my predecessors have had occasion to announce the views of this nation in respect to such interference. On both occasions, the remonstrance of the the United States was respected, from a deep conviction on the part of European Governments, that the system of non-interference, and mutual abstinence from propagandism, was the true rule for both hemispheres."

"Since these times, we have advanced in wealth and power; but we retain the same purpose, to leave the nations of Europe to choose their own dynasties, and form their own systems of government."

"This consistent moderation may justly demand a corresponding moderation. *We should regard it a great calamity to ourselves, to the cause of good government, and to the peace of the world, should any European power challenge the American people, as it were, to the defence of Republicanism against foreign interference.* We cannot foresee, and are unwilling to consider what opportunities might present, what combinations might offer for our protection against designs inimical to our form of government."

"The United States desire to act in the future as they have ever acted heretofore. They never will be driven from that course but by the aggression of the European powers. And we rely on the wisdom and justice of those powers, to respect the system of non-interference which has so long been sanctioned by time, and which by its good results has approved itself to both Continents."

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PART IX.

INTEROCEANIC TRANSITS; THEIR POLITICAL HISTORY.—EFFORTS OF SPAIN, ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

THE GREAT QUESTIONS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

THE great Republic, on the 4th of March, 1869, will enter upon a new era in its history. It has passed through all the various stages, phases, and struggles of youth, and has survived the doubts and fears of friends at home, and all the hatred and hostility of its foes abroad. The last great crisis is over. The transition period is fast passing away. Trial has tested its virtues and strength. It has been in the red-hot crucible, and comes out "silver and gold."

Three great questions, vitally affecting the interests of modern civilization, have been settled, at least for our country and our Continent:

1. National organic independence and the sovereignty of the people.
2. Individual liberty and civil rights.
3. Religious freedom.

Bunker Hill and its sequiturs settled the first; Appomattox Court House and its antecedents the second; and the last departing squadron of the intervention left the third, in final settlement with Juarez and his compatriots in Mexico.

These three, involving the fundamental truths and principles, the great American ideas that underlie the whole political, civil, and religious institutions of the Republic, concern essentially its internal progress and wel-

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fare. In symmetry and strength they constitute the root, the trunk, and the fruit of our "tree of liberty" at home.

There is another, not less important question, that now arises, and is looming up over land and sea. It touches both the inmost heart and life of the Republic, and is equally vital in respect to its influence and mission abroad among the nations of the earth. It challenges the attention of every American. It has for half a century engaged the most earnest attention of the "Great Powers" of the other hemisphere, and concerns the welfare of all mankind. The question involves the attitude the Republic should assume among the family of nations, the position it should take and the voice it should have, in respect to those great international interests and measures, which affect the commerce and the civilization of the world.

All nations are now neighbors, and have certain common interests in the great trunk lines of communication and commerce around the world. Among these, are the two great continental isthmus transits, that lie in the great highway of all maritime and commercial nations. The narrow necks of land that divide the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, and the American isthmus connecting North and South Amerca, lie as near as may be in the circle, that describes the commercial equator of our sphere. The trunk lines of commerce that traverse the oceans, cross the Continents at these points. All nations have an interest in these transits, and they should be opened, not in the exclusive interest nor under the undue control of any one government, however strong, or any territory, that may chance to hold the position or the power to claim an ascendency over them. They belong to all mankind.

There is a right of eminent domain that attaches to the

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family of nations. That right which cuts a canal or stretches a railroad across a State or a Continent, through any man's farm or house, belongs *à fortiori* to the nations, to make a way and a highway anywhere on the earth, that the common interests of humanity demand. No principle of political economy is more plain. As well might Spain and Morocco claim the passage of Gibraltar, or England and France the straits of Dover, as any other nation claim the monopoly of a transit, on sea or land, that the great Creator designed for the whole family of man. Why should the Bosphorus, any more than Gibraltar, be shut out from the unrestricted transit to the seas? Why should Russia, Prussia, Holland, and the United States have no voice in the opening and direction of the transit to the commerce of Asia? Why should England and France hold the right of way, for canal and railroad, and have virtual control over the great gates of the East?

THE GREAT "EASTERN" QUESTION.

The struggle of the century in Europe has been for the commerce of the Orient. England, Russia, and France have ever been at cross purposes in the Levant. They have never been able to agree in adjusting their respective claims. The Eagle, the Lion, and the Bear, with mutual jealousies have guarded the passage, which neither is willing the other should enjoy. The question will yet arise, whether the Suez Canal and the Euphrates Valley Railway, or some other track shorter and more direct, from the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Euphrates, should not be opened to all the world, on a scale commensurate with the wants and the enterprises of our century, and under the protection and control of some kind of international commission, charged with the preservation of the rights of all nations.

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THE GREAT "WESTERN" QUESTION.

The transit of the American isthmus from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by canal and railroad, has also engaged for centuries the attention of mankind. Where, when, and how shall these waters be joined, the gateways be opened on a scale equal to the wants of Europe, Asia, and America?

The question has received far more the attention of European governments than it has that of our own. The following brief historical sketch may give some idea of the importance attached to this subject by transatlantic powers, and of the political and commercial aspects in which it has been viewed.

Since the sixteenth century, this American isthmus section has occupied the attention of the great Powers of Europe. The most eminent statesmen have devoted themselves to the subject. Jefferson and Pitt in the last century, the successive ministers of the British government, Louis Philippe, Louis Napoleon, and their unrivalled corps of engineers, Pope Pio Nono, the *savans* of Europe (Humboldt and others), and the late administrations of our government—Everett, Marcy, Webster, and Clay—have directed to it the most marked public and official attention. Many treaties and concessions have been made by the different governments of Mexico and of Central America, with a view to secure to foreign governments, or to companies or individuals, at home or abroad, some exclusive rights or privileges over the great highway.

PROPOSED ROUTES FOR CANALS AND RAILROADS.

There have been at least nineteen different routes proposed for interoceanic communication between the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific ocean—by

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CANALS.

First—The Tehuantepec route, by the Coatzacoalco river and the bay of La Ventosa.

Second—The Honduras route, between that bay and the bay of Fonseca.

Third—The eight Nicaragua routes—1. By the river San Carlos direct to the Gulf of Mexico. 2 to 5. Four routes, through the lake Nicaragua, by the several rivers connecting the lake with the Pacific Ocean—the Niño, the Sapoa, the San Juan del Sur, and the Brito. 5 to 8. The three routes by Lake Managua, viz., by the river Tamarinda, by the city of Leon and the port Realejo, and by the bay of Fonseca.

Fourth—The four Panama routes—1. By the river Chagres and Panama. 2. By the way of Trinidad and Caymito. 3. By Navy bay and the rivers Chagres, Bonito, and Bernardo. 4. By the Gulf of San Blas and the river Chepo.

Fifth—The two Darien routes—1. By the Bay of Caledonia and the Gulf of San Miguel. 2. By the rivers Argina, Paya, Tuyra, and the Gulf of San Miguel.

Sixth—The three Atrato routes—1. By the river Napipi and Cupica bay. 2. By the Truando to Kelley's inlet. 3. By the Atrato river.

There have been at least seven different projects for communication by

RAILROADS.

First—The Tehuantepec route, by the Coatzacoalco.
Second—The Honduras to the Gulf of Fonseca.
Third—The Nicaragua.
Fourth—The Chiriqui to the Dulce Gulf.
Fifth—The Panama, in operation.
Sixth—The Gorgon bay and Realejo.
Seventh—The Gorgon bay and San Juan del Sur.

These all have received more or less attention, and have had their respective projectors and advocates. The idea of a canal between the oceans has roused the imagination of many minds. A great variety of projects have

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been put forward from time to time, some of the more important of which are as follows. There are men who have devoted time, labor, and money to these two great enterprises on behalf of our country, that entitle them to honor and gratitude from all true Americans.

THE DECREE OF THE SPANISH CORTES—1814.

In 1814 the Spanish Cortes, with such information as they possessed, passed a decree authorizing the opening of a canal across Tehuantepec. The revolutions and contests in Spain and in Mexico, however, absorbed all the attention of both governments for many years in other things.

AN ENGLISH ASSOCIATION—1825.

In 1825 an association was formed in London for the purpose of cutting a ship canal across the isthmus of America.

R. B. Pitman published a volume of 230 pages, 12mo, giving an analysis of all the information then extant in regard to the subject. He quoted from Dampier and Wafer in 1681; Sharp and Funnel in 1703; DeUlloa in 1726; Edwards in 1799; Humboldt in 1803; Walton in 1817; Robinson in 1820; Hall in 1822; and Purdy in 1824; and cited the remark of Humboldt, that "there was no paper" at that date "to throw light on the possibility of cutting a canal across the isthmus of America." The work contains a map and a description of the five routes that had been then suggested—the Tehuantepec, the Nicaragua, the Panama, the Darien, and the Atrato.

The author says, "It is especially within the obligations and the power of Great Britain to investigate the subject impartially, and, if practicable, to accomplish an improvement which is pre-eminently benefiting herself, and

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would confer inestimable advantages upon the rest of the world," and suggests "a convention, under the mediation of the British government, with all other maritime nations, by which war and its hideous consequences should, by common consent, be forever excluded from that one spot on the earth's surface, which appears destined by nature to be the heart of the commerce of the world."

SPIRIT OF THE ENGLISH PRESS—1846.

The London *Spectator*, September 19, 1846, contained the following article: A railroad, or even a good common road, across the Isthmus of Panama, would be an invaluable boon to the country through which it passed, and would not be devoid of utility to commerce; but it would be immeasurably inferior in importance to a ship canal between the two oceans, and would by no means supersede the necessity for that grand highway for the navigation of the world. * * * What is wanted is a maritime channel, which shall enable merchant vessels of the largest class to avoid the expense, danger, and loss of time incident to doubling Cape Horn, and to pass from ocean to ocean without discharging their cargoes, or being delayed more than two or three days in the Isthmus. It would be fortunate if such a canal could be cut through the Isthmus of Panama (proper), which is but forty-one miles. But the impossibility of doing this has been fully proved by M. Gavella, an engineer who surveyed the isthmus by order of the French government, and the result of whose investigations was published in the *Journal des Débats* January 15, 1846.

To say nothing of the want of sufficient harbors at either end of the canal in this locality, a tunnel would be requisite capable of giving passage to ships of 1,200 tons

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burden, with their lower masts standing. It would have to be cut through a solid porphyry rock. Its dimensions would be about eight times those of the box tunnel, and the cost of excavating it, estimated by M. Gavella at £2,000,000, would probably fall not far short of five times that amount.

Scarcely a doubt remains, that the most eligible locality for the proposed work is the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the Mexican territory. It is true the land is much wider here than at points further south, but it presents, in the table land of Tarifa, the only gap as yet discovered in the granite chain that extends from Behring's Straits to Terra del Fuego.

The total breadth of the Isthmus of Tehauntepec is 140 miles, but the greater part of this space is occupied on the south by lagoons, which could be easily converted into a commodious harbor. On the north is the Coatzacoalco, a river of great volume, admitting the largest vessels at all seasons of the year, to a distance of thirty-five miles from its mouth, latitude 18 deg. 8 min. north, and is capable of being made navigable twenty-five miles further. The canal to be excavated would therefore be but fifty miles long. The highest point to be surmounted is 206 metres (218 yards) above the level of the Pacific, and 160 above the Atlantic. The ascent and descent would be effected by means of 150 locks. Water for feeding the canal can be had in abundance at the summit level. The Mexican government has assigned to the projector of the canal, Don José Garay, the fee simple of nearly 5,000,000 of acres in the Isthmus, together with the privilege of establishing colonies over a breadth of fifty leagues on either side of the canal.

The foreign colonies are to enjoy all requisite immu-

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nities, and even the right of working the virgin mines which are known to exist on its surface. The Isthmus is known to possess a fine, salubrious climate, and in many places a most fruitful soil. Timber for shipbuilding, dye-wood, mahogany and other fine-grained trees are to be had in profusion in the forests of Coatzacoalco. The supply of animal food is inexhaustible, and nature has neglected nothing, that could mark out this region as one of the most eligible for colonization on the face of the globe. Hence arises one of the most striking advantages, which this scheme we have been considering, possesses over all its rivals. It would not be necessary to encounter at once the cost and risk of excavating the canal. All that is requisite, in the first instance, is to transport to the spot an industrious and well-disciplined population, who, after completing a temporary communication between the ocean, would develop the immense resources of the country, and draw from them, the means of completing the grand design. There are political circumstances to which, for the present, we can do no more than allude, but which call for the establishment in Tehuantepec of a well-organized colony under the protection of England and France, as a matter of vital importance to Mexico, and of proportionate interest to the allies.

See account of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, &c., based on the reports of Don José Garay, London, 1846.

The *Spectator* adds: "The feasibility of cutting through this neck of land that unites the two continents of America has been so long talked of, and only talked of, that men begin to doubt it. * * * But the thing will be done, and done probably at no distant day. * * Our age is remarkable for the boldness with which it wages war against all obstacles of time and space."

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Thus early appears the proposed alliance of European monarchies for a foothold in Mexico, for purposes of "vital importance," political, colonial, and commercial.

ACTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT—1845.

In 1845, Napoleon Gavella, chief of the royal corps of mining engineers, published in Paris a *résumé* of his report to the French government on the project of the Panama canal. The volume contains 230 pages, 12mo, with an accurate topographical map, and a condensed statement of the results of his examination of the isthmus, the details of which, in the estimates of construction, revenue, &c., being deposited in the archives of State. The report of M. Gavella appeared in the *Journal des Débats* January 15, 1846.

In 1846, M. Garay published a volume in London of 130 pages, 12mo, with maps, tables, and estimates, based upon the surveys and reports of the scientific commission, authorized under his grant. He claimed the superior advantages of the Tehuantepec route over every other, in shortening the commercial lines, and in other respects, while it did not differ in any extraordinary degree, in any of its dimensions of length, breadth, depth, lockage, or summit level to be crossed, from similar works already executed in Great Britain, France, Holland, or the United States.

VIEWS AND AIMS OF LOUIS NAPOLEON IN 1846.

The canalization of the isthmus was the earliest to receive a thorough scientific investigation. The honor of the first, most complete examination of the whole subject, in all its bearings, must be accorded to Louis Napoleon. While a prisoner at Ham he prepared an elaborate expo-

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sition of the importance, the practicability, and advantages of such a work. His paper occupies eighty pages of the 8vo edition of his works. The following brief analysis of its contents will convey some idea of the systematic, practical, and comprehensive manner in which he treated it. An introduction of twelve pages gives an account of the origin and progress of his interest in the subject. Chapter 1, sets forth the importance of the geographical position of Nicaragua, deemed then to offer the most practicable route. Chapter 2, a description of the places in the track of the canal and the length of the route. Chapter 3, the dimensions, &c., of the canal. Chapter 4, estimates of the expense of construction. Chapter 5, revenues of the canal. The work is full and exhaustive in its details, descriptions, and statistics, as then accessible, necessary to a complete understanding of the project.

As early as 1842, it appears in his historical sketch, eminent persons in Central America invited the prisoner of Ham to America, to identify himself with some public works worthy of his name. He engaged an officer of the French marine, to investigate the possibility of cutting a canal between the two oceans, by the lakes of Nicaragua and Leon. About the same time, the government of Louis Philippe sent an engineer to survey, make plans and estimates for the same object across Panama.

In 1844 the States of Guatemala, San Salvador, and Honduras sent a Minister Plenipotentiary, M. Castillon, to the Court of Louis Philippe to seek the protection and aid of the French government, offering in return great commercial advantages. The overture being declined, M. Castillon obtained permission to visit the prisoner of Ham, and solicited him to go to Central America and place himself at the head of the enterprise.

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M. Castillon, learning how perfectly informed the Prince was, in respect to the physical facts, the geographical and commercial relations, and, indeed, every aspect of the subject, urged the preparation of the descriptive paper and prospectus.

In January, 1846, the government of Nicaragua passed an act conferring all necessary powers upon Louis Napoleon to organize a company in Europe, on a scale commensurate with the object of opening a new route for the commerce of the world, and under the honored name of "CANALE NAPOLEONE DE NICARAGUA."

After the departure of the Prince from Ham, and his arrival in England, he pursued the subject with indefatigable diligence, to secure the co-operation of capitalists and statesmen. His publications and personal efforts to bring the project forward are well known. His zeal and energy, and his foresight and comprehensive grasp of the importance of the work then, are just beginning to be appreciated by statesmen now.

MEMOIR OF LOUIS NAPOLEON ON THE CANAL—1846.

Prince Napoleon, in his introduction, says, that "the union of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans would shorten the distance between Europe and the western coast of America and Oceanica three thousand miles; would make the communication between China, Japan, New Zealand, and New Holland rapid and easy by steam; would raise to an extraordinary degree of prosperity, the territories through which three thousand merchant ships would pass every year; would open new avenues for commerce, and markets for European products; in short, would hasten by many centuries, the progress of Christianity and civilization throughout the world."

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"The whole of Central America may be considered as one grand isthmus, which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean, extending from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to the Gulf of Darien. It has a coast line of about twelve hundred miles, and its area is twenty-six thousand square leagues, almost equal to that of France. Its population is three millions," &c.

* * * * * *

"Five points have been indicated on this part of the American Continent, as suitable for the opening of a communication between the two oceans. The first on Mexican territory, by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, the second by Nicaraugua, the third by Panama, and the fourth and fifth by the Gulf of Darien." Of these five proposed routes, he dismisses the first and the last two, as presenting serious, if not insurmountable, difficulties. Of the other two, he maintains that the route by the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua is the only one that ought to be adopted, even if all were practicable.

He explains his reasons as follows: "There are certain countries which, by their very geographical position, are destined to become prosperous, rich, and powerful. Nature has done everything for man, if he will improve the advantages she has placed at his disposal. The countries in the most favorable conditions are those situated on the great commercial routes, and possessing the safest ports and harbors, and the most advantageous means of exchange. These countries find inexhaustible resources in their relations to foreign commerce, and can take advantage of the fertility of their own soils, and gradually build up a domestic commerce, which receives its impulse and follows the movement of the general progress. Such

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were Tyre, Carthage, Constantinople, Venice, Genoa, Amsterdam, Liverpool, and London, which have attained such distinguished prosperity, rising from insignificant villages to the first rank among the great commercial cities, and offering to the astonished nations the spectacle of powerful States. Venice, in particular, owed her marvellous grandeur to her geographical position, which made her for centuries the entrepôt of commerce between Europe and the Levant. It was only after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope had opened to navigators a new route to the East that the prosperity of Venice began to decline. Nevertheless, such was her wealth and commercial influence that she was able, for three centuries, to contend against the formidable competition that this discovery brought against her."

"There is another city famous in history, although today shorn of her ancient splendor, whose admirable position is an object of jealousy for all the great Powers of Europe, who now unite to maintain there a semi-barbarous government, incapable of profiting by the prodigious advantages that nature has lavished upon her. The geographical position of Constantinople made her the queen of the ancient world. Occupying the central point between Europe, Asia, and Africa, she might make herself the entrepôt of the commerce of all countries, and gain over them all an immense preponderance. Seated between two seas, which, like two great lakes, the entrance to which she commands, afford a rendezvous for the most formidable fleets, sheltered from the attack of all nations, and by the aid of which she might assure to herself dominion on the Mediterranean, as well as on the Black Sea—mistress at once of the mouths of the Danube, which open to her the route to Germany, and the sources of the Euphrates,

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which command the route to the Indies, she might dictate the laws of commerce to Greece, to France, to Italy, to Spain, and to Egypt. Alas! what might not the proud city of Constantine be, but is not, because, as Montesquieu says, 'God has permitted Turks to be in this world—the men of our race best fitted to possess, to no purpose, a grand empire.'

"There is, in the New World, a country as admirably situated as Constantinople, and, we must add, to this day as uselessly occupied. It is the State of Nicaragua. As Constantinople is the centre of the ancient world, so the city of Leon, or rather Massaya, is the centre of the new. If a canal were practicable across the tongue of land, which separates the two lakes from the Pacific Ocean, it would command, by its central situation, all the coasts of North and South America. Like Constantinople, Massaya is situated between two grand natural harbors, where the largest fleet may ride secure from all attacks. Better still than Constantinople, the State of Nicaragua may be made the necessary route for the commerce of the world; for it would be, for the United States the shortest route to China and the East Indies, and for England and the rest of Europe, the shortest to New Holland, Polynesia, and all the western coast of America.

"The State of Nicaragua appears to be destined for an extraordinary degree of prosperity and grandeur; for that which really makes her position more advantageous than that of Constantinople, is, that the great maritime Powers of Europe would, with pleasure, not with jealousy, see her take a rank in the scale of nations, not less favorable to her own peculiar interests, than to the commerce of the world.

"France, England, Holland, Russia, and the United

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States have a great commercial interest in the establishment of a communication between the two oceans; but England has, more than all other Powers, *a political interest* in the execution of this plan. England cannot but rejoice to see Central America become a flourishing and considerable State, which would reëstablish the equilibrium of power, by creating in Spanish America, a new centre of industrial activity, sufficiently powerful to create a grand sentiment of nationality, and to prevent, by sustaining Mexico, new encroachments on the part of the North.

"England would see with satisfaction, the opening of a route, which would enable her to communicate more rapidly, with Oregon, China, and her possessions in New Holland. She would find, besides, that the progress of Central America would have the effect to revive the languishing commerce of Jamaica and the other English Antilles, and to arrest their decay. It is a happy coincidence, that the political and commercial prosperity of the State of Nicaragua is intimately connected with the political interests of that nation, that is now in possession of maritime preponderance."

* * * * * *

Prince Napoleon closes his extraordinary and admirable article on the subject, with the following remarkable sentiments:

"The prosperity of Central America concerns the interests of civilization in general, and the best means to work for the welfare of humanity is, to break down the barriers which separate men, races, and nations. This is the progress which Christianity points out to us, as well as the efforts of the great men who have appeared, at intervals, on the scene of the world. The Christian religion

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teaches us that we are all brothers, and that in the sight of God the slave is equal to his master, as well as that the Asiatic, the African, and the Indian are equal to the European.

"On the other hand, the great men of the world have, by their wars, mingled together the different races of men, and left behind them, those imperishable monuments, such as the levelling of mountains, the piercing of forests, the canalization of rivers—monuments which, by facilitating communications, tend to bring together and reunite individuals and peoples. War and commerce have civilized the world. War has had its day. Commerce alone now pursues her conquests. Let us open for her a new route. Let us bring nearer to Europe, the tribes of Oceanica and Australia, and cause them to share in the blessings of Christianity and civilization. To accomplish this grand enterprise, we make our appeal to all religious and intelligent men, for it is worthy of their zeal and their sympathies. We invoke the support of all statesmen, for all nations are interested in the establishment of new and easy communications between the two hemispheres. Finally, we address ourselves to capitalists, because, in taking part in so glorious an enterprise, they are sure to reap great pecuniary advantages."

THE POPE AND THE ISTHMUS CANAL—1848.

In 1848, there was published in Paris a small pamphlet, entitled the "Canalization of the Isthmus of Suez and of Panama," "by the brothers of the maritime company of the religious, military, and industrial order of Saint Pie."

The frontispiece represents the Pope offering with his right hand a scroll, with the keys of St. Peter, to Europe,

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and with his left hand pointing to the Indian, Mexican, and African races of America. The motto is:

Allez, soldats du Christ, et pleins de confiance,
Vers de nouveaux chemins guidez l'humanite;
Mais portez-y la Croix, seul phare d'esperance,
Seul gage du progres et de la liberte.

The work is dedicated to his Holiness Pius IX., "Heureusement regnant," by the Marquis de Magny, as follows:

Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Pontiff: An undertaking, whose conception dates back even as far as the discovery of the New World, and looked upon ever since, as the grandest benefaction with which humanity could be blessed, a work judged impracticable as long as science did not elevate herself to the height of this gigantic difficulty; but in our days, after the studies made by engineers, universally recognized as possible, and speedily to be realized, is a work, whose execution would place its authors in the very front rank of the men who have most advanced civilization. The piercing of the Isthmus which separates the Atlantic from the Pacific ocean—the complement of the canalization of the Isthmus of Suez—could not pass the interval which separates every theoretic conception from practical realization, if it were not placed in the hands of a company, worthy by its organization, to share in the great work for the benefit of religion, universal civilization, and the world's peace. I come to lay before the eyes of your Holiness the plan which alone can render profitable this noble and magnificent enterprise, which I propose to carry out by means of a company, simultaneously religious, military, and industrial, under the auspices of the Sovereign Pontiff, to whom humanity awards such high destinies. The civilizing genius which, by a single stroke, has given to the "Church" the moral influence belonging to it, and which she is wont to exercise in all great epochs, upon events as well as upon men, has naturally designated Pope Pius IX. as one of its most humble but also one of its most fervent admirers, who, like a new Moses, is destined to open to humanity,

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the ways as yet unknown to it, which shall conduct it to a glorious future.

In his exposition of the plan, the Marquis says:

Let us suppose that a society were established in that admirable country, which extends from the borders of the Coatzacoalco to the Gulf of Darien—that is to say, along the narrow space which separates North and South America; suppose that to it were equally committed the guarding of that part of Africa where its works should remove the obstacle that lies between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf; suppose that, invested with the confidence of the various governments, who will have solemnly recognized the neutrality of its flag, it should arrive to such a degree of influence as it ought to have, and as it will have, upon the plan of such an association as we have submitted to the approval of an august will. Then will open for its intervention a beautiful and vast career. Then all that can satisfy the most noble and most legitimate ambition can be realized by the chiefs charged with its management. Missionaries of European civilization, the members of the company of St. Pius, would become, under various titles, the benefactors of the human race. With them and through them would be realized all that is practicable in the amelioration of society and the ranks of civilization. Finally, an immense resource would be found for the suffering multitudes of the ancient world. Upon the whole surface of our Continent there is an agitated, unsteady, and heaving mass. Europe, justly proud of its experience, of its inventions, of its manufactures, of its arts, of its sciences, groans under the impossibility of exercising all these forces for the welfare of its incessantly increasing inhabitants.

The object of these statements is, to show that England, France, and even Rome have been far in advance of us, in appreciating the importance of Mexico; that far-seeing minds on the other side of the Atlantic have been incomparably more awake, more alive, more enterprising than we have been, in a matter of vital interest that lies at our very doors.

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In 1850 that most extraordinary treaty, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, was made at Washington. While it contains many valuable features, it is incomprehensible how some of its stipulations could have been sanctioned by our government.*

THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY—1850.

APRIL 19, 1850.—"The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty" says, that "her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, desirous of consolidating the relations of amity which so happily exist," &c., "by setting forth and fixing in a convention their views and intentions with reference to any means of communication by ship canal, which may be constructed between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, by the way of the St. Juan river," &c.

Article 1 declares that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself, any exclusive control over the said

* The following anecdote has been related of Senator Douglas, in connection with this Treaty. It is stated, that while it was pending before the Senate, there was a dinner party somewhere, at which the British Minister and the Senator were present. During the interview, the Minister addressed the Senator, stating that he understood he was violently opposed to his Treaty, and asked him why?

The Senator replied, that he was opposed to it; but that, if the Minister would assent to the insertion of *two words* in the first article, he would vote for it.

"Very well," responded the Minister, "what are they?"

"After the words," said Mr. Douglas, "'Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America,'—add *or India.*"

"Oh! but," said the Minister, "the United States have no colonies in India."

"Neither has Great Britain any colonies in Central America," replied the Senator.

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ship canal; agreeing, that neither will ever erect, or maintain, any fortifications commanding the same, or in the vicinity thereof, nor occupy nor fortify nor colonize nor assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast or any part of Central America. Nor will either make use of any protection which either affords, or may afford, or any alliance which either has, or may have to do with any State or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same. Nor will Great Britain or the United States take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection or influence that either may possess, with any State or government, through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the subjects or citizens of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal, which shall not be offered on the same terms, to the subjects or citizens of the other.

Article 2. The vessels of Great Britain, or of the United States traversing the said canal, shall, in case of war between the contracting parties, be exempt from blockade, detention or capture by either of the belligerents; and this provision shall extend to such a distance from the two ends of the said canal, as may hereafter be found expedient to establish.

Article 4 provides that the contracting parties shall use whatever influence they may possess, and good offices they may perform, to induce the states concerned in the transit, to facilitate the construction of the canal, and to procure two free ports, one at each end of said canal.

Article 5. The contracting parties agree, that when the said canal is completed, they will protect it from interruption, seizure, or unjust confiscation; that they will guarantee its neutrality, that it may be forever open and free, and the capital invested therein, secure; that the guarantee of security and neutrality shall be conditioned on its faithful and impartial management; that no discriminating regulations in favor, or against, either

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party are made, or oppressive exactions or unreasonable tolls on passengers or freight.

ARTICLE 6. The parties engage to invite other States to enter into stipulations with them, similar to those which they have entered into with each other, to the end that all other States may share in the honor and advantage of having contributed to a work of such interest and importance. The contracting parties also stipulate, that each shall enter into treaty stipulations with such of the Central American States as they may deem advisable, for the purpose of more effectually carrying out the great design of this Convention—namely, that of constructing and maintaining the said canal as a ship communication between the two oceans, for the benefit of mankind, on equal terms to all, and of protecting the same.

ARTICLE 8 states that the parties have entered into this convention, not merely to accomplish a particular object, but also to establish a general principle. They agree to extend their protection to any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus which connects North and South America, and especially to the interoceanic communications, should the same be practicable, whether by canal or railway, which are now proposed to be established by the way of Tehuantepec or Panama.

In 1852, the Report, by I. I. Williams, Esq., Assistant Engineer of the Scientific Survey of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, under the direction of Major-General J. G. Barnard, was published, in a volume of 295 pp. It is accompanied by maps, profiles, and engravings, and is the most thorough, elaborate, and complete account that we have of any portion of the Isthmus.

ACTION OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

Subsequently the French government, by its agent, M. Belly, secured the following:

CONVENTION OF RIVAS, MAY 1, 1858.

The preamble states, that the two governments of Nicaragua

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and Costa Rica jointly agree upon a grant for an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Nicaragua, to an international company, to be formed by M. Belly and his associates, on the most liberal terms and without "distinction of nationalities."

Article 1 stipulates that the two governments shall give the exclusive privilege for the construction and use of such a maritime canal, precluding any subsequent grant for a canal across the same territory, during the term of this concession.

Article 2 fixes the term of the grant—ninety-nine years from the date of the opening of the canal.

Article 3 determines the course of the canal, by the river San Juan and the lake of Nicaragua.

Article 4 defines conditionally the dividing line between the two States, according to the route of the canal.

Article 5 conveys, in fee, to the grantees, one French league of land each side of the track of the canal.

Article 6 stipulates that in crossing the Lake of Nicaragua, the shortest curve shall be considered as one of the sides of the canal, on each side of which, a space equal to one French league shall be deemed the property of the company, whether water or island, provided the same belongs to the States.

Article 7 conveys all the mines of coal, gold, silver, or other minerals on the lands of the company to them, subject only to the laws of the country.

Article 8 provides that the company shall be at the entire charge of the construction, repair, and working of the canal, without government aid.

Article 9 secures eight per cent. of the gross revenue of the canal—that is, four per cent. each to the two States during the continuance of the grant.

Article 10 guarantees the company, their agents and property against any external or internal aggression, under penalty of forfeiture of damages by arbitration, to be deducted from the eight per cent. royalty.

Article 11 provides that the two ports at the extremities of the canal, on the Atlantic coast, shall be free ports forever, enjoying all the immunities those words imply.

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Article 12 requires the erection of a first class lighthouse at each end of the canal, six months before its opening.

ARTICLE 13. The grantees declare emphatically, that the canal shall be open on the same terms to all flags, and that there shall be a uniform rate of tolls and charges, on all descriptions of merchandise, and at present, ten francs per ton (1,000 killogram) and sixty francs per passenger, never to be increased, but may be reduced as the interests of the company and commerce of the world, may justify.

Article 14 grants special privilege, for ten years, of free passage to vessels of the company, not exporting merchandise.

Article 15 exempts the lands, vessels, and works of the company from any impost tax of any kind, for twenty years.

Article 16 authorizes the company to dam or dredge the waters of the Colorado and San Juan rivers, and of the Lake Nicaragua, and to construct all such works as the engineers may judge necessary.

Article 17 empowers the company to impose such rules and regulations on the commerce of the transit as the interests of the service may require, not, however, injurious to the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua.

Article 18 requires the canal to be of such dimensions as to admit, and afford harmless transit, to vessels of the largest size.

Article 19 allows two years for the commencement of the works, and six years for their completion. This time may, however, be extended.

Article 20 entitles the Ministers at Paris, of all of the States, to be members of the council of the company, but without vote.

Article 21 restricts the two States from continuing or establishing any monopoly of the productions of the country, or of articles of commerce (except munitions of war), from the date of the first semi-annual settlement of the royalty reserved to the States.

Article 22 establishes three per cent. ad valorem, as the rate of import and export duty, during the term of this concession.

ARTICLE 23. The parties mutually engage to make immediate application to the governments of France, England, and the Uni-

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ted States, to secure the guarantee of the neutrality of the canal, by these three Powers, on the basis of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

ARTICLE 24. Until such guarantee shall have been officially proclaimed, by the publication of such a treaty, entrance to the canal shall be prohibited to all men-of-war; and the border States, in concert with the company, may take all necessary measures, to make this prohibition respected.

ARTICLE 25. After the neutrality of the canal shall have been solemnly guaranteed by act of the three governments of France, England, and the United States, the canal shall be open to ships of war, on the unanimous consent of the three Powers, subject to the approval of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and the previous regulations of the company.

ARTICLE 26. As an exceptional measure, and to protect the interests and responsibility of the company, the direction of which is entirely French, the French government shall have the right to maintain two stationary vessels of war, during the continuance of the works, either in the waters of the canal or the Lake Nicaragua.

ARTICLE 27. All civil questions in the execution of this convention, shall be finally decided by a permanent commission, composed of two arbitrators, chosen by the company; one magistrate, appointed by each of the States, and the oldest French Consular Agent accredited to them.

ARTICLE 28. All political questions arising under this convention shall be submitted to the decision of a majority of an arbitration commission, composed of two members appointed by the company, and one from each of the interested or guaranteeing States—France, England, the United States, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.

Convention executed at Rivas, May 1, 1858.

MARTINEZ, President Republic Nicaragua.

GREGORIO JUAREZ, Foreign Secretary.

MORA, President Republic Costa Rica.

NAZARIO TOLEDO, Foreign Secretary.

FELIX BELLY.

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ENDORSEMENT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

This convention was submitted to the British Government, and received the following significant reply from Lord Malmesbury, referring to the "Clayton-Bulwer" treaty:—

A letter addressed to M. Felix Belly, by Lord Malmesbury, her Britannic Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs:

FOREIGN OFFICE, June 11, 1858.

MONSIEUR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 1, containing a copy of the treaty concluded between yourself and the Presidents of the republics of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, for the construction of a maritime canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and I am happy to assure you, that the stipulations of a treaty entered into between Great Britain and the United States, April 19, 1850, are in my opinion applicable to your project, if you put it into execution.

MALMESBURY.

In 1866, Rear-Admiral Davis, in compliance with a Resolution of the Senate, prepared and published a Report, "On the various proposed lines for interoceanic canals and railroads, between the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans." It is in a volume of 28 pages letterpress, containing numerous admirable maps and charts. It is an admirable resumé of the various projects for these objects.

Other and numerous publications, of various kinds, are extant, by different authors, describing favorite routes.

THE MEXICAN SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION, BY LOUIS NAPOLEON, 1864.

In February, 1864, the Emperor Napoleon, by imperial decree, instituted a commission, charged with a scientific expedition, for researches in Mexico, consisting of twenty-five members. The Minister of Public Instruction was

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president, M. Quatrefages vice-president, and among the members were Marshal Vaillant, Baron Gros, MM. Michel Chevalier, Milne Edwards, and others, mostly members of the Institute, and distinguished in various departments of science. The expedition was organized in its various sections, to make a complete exploration of Mexico, and the bordering territories, in respect to physical geography, geological, mineralogical, meteorological and medical characteristics, the different races, their monuments, history, &c. The survey was to extend from the sources of the Rio del Norte and Rio Colorado, to the extremity of the Isthmus of Darien, and from the Pacific Ocean to the basin of the Rio del Norte, inclusive.

There were four committees, or sections. 1. On natural and medical sciences; M. Milne Edwards, president. 2. On physical and medical sciences; Marshal Vaillant, president. 3. On history, language and archæology; Baron Gros, president. 4. On political economy, statistics, public works and administrative questions; M. Michel Chevalier, president.

In addition to the above there were thirty corresponding members. Among them were Leon, Minister of State of the empire of Maximilian; Ramirez, Minister of Foreign Affairs: the Archbishop of Guatemala, and others wisely selected in Havana, Panama, Mexico, and other prominent places. The most ample provision for the *personnel*, and the general expedition were made, and all the instructions and preparations arranged for the work, on a scale worthy both of the subject, and of the author of the undertaking.

In their first report to the Emperor, the commission say:—"Sixty-six years ago forty thousand of the bravest soldiers in the world and our most glorious Captain, entered Alexandria. A whole colony of *savans*, also, in

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their way, made the conquest of Egypt, rending the veil which for fifteen centuries had shrouded its ancient civilization. The researches of the Institute of Cairo, and the publication of the great work, 'The Description of Egypt,' revived archæological science in Europe." * * *

Animated by such recollections, your Majesty has desired that that which was done on the banks of the Nile, by Napoleon I. should be repeated in Mexico, under the auspices of Napoleon III.

The report, which is in two volumes, contains an account of the official acts of the commission, and of the labors of its committees, and the results they had reached.

The whole project—the organization, the appointments and the business efficiency of that commission, were all worthy of the imperial mind that planned it; and the results embodied in the two volumes are only an earnest and pledge, of the grand contribution to science which the world would have received, if the plan had been successful.

CHAPTER II.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES; THE AMERICAN ASIATIC SOCIETY—1865.

It had long been known, that the Asiatic and the Geographical Societies, of England, France, Germany and other parts of Europe, had given to this subject the most earnest and thorough investigation, and that courts and cabinets, in connection with the researches of eminent men of science, statesmen and philanthropists, had accumulated an amount of information not generally known in this country. The grand relations and bearings of the subject had not received at home, the attention and appreciation they deserved, and had commanded abroad. The know-

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ledge attained, the interest manifested, and the policy pursued, by one administration of our government, was not followed up by its successor.

The American-Asiatic Society, an association under the presidency of Professor S. F. B. Morse, had been for a long period quietly investigating the subject, in its relations to the future of our institutions and of our commerce. Impressed with a deep sense of the intrinsic national and international importance of the "Middle Continent," in its geographical relations to the commerce of the world, the society addressed a communication to our government, soliciting the appropriate action of our administration;—and opened correspondence with scientific societies, and a number of eminent individuals in Europe. The society also, by favor of the opportunity of a personal presentation, by its honored President, to the Emperor Napoleon, addressed to him a memorial on the subject.

COMMUNICATION OF THE AMERICAN-ASIATIC SOCIETY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES—1866.

In January, 1866, the society deputed one of its members, to submit to the President of the United States, some of the results of their investigations, together with some views respecting friendly international coöperation, by the interested commercial Powers, in opening the great highway and the golden gates of the world's commerce, in the common interest of all nations and of modern civilization.

The President of the society addressed the following letter to the President of the United States:

NEW YORK, Jan. 17, 1866.

To his Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States:

DEAR SIR—At a time when every patriot is studying, with

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the deepest interest, the influence of foreign diplomacy upon the peace and well being of our country,—when every one is watching with anxiety the unfolding of the policy of European governments towards the United States, and this Western Continent, I am confident that the plans of intelligent individual citizens, having for their object the welfare, not merely of our own country, but of the world, will not be considered by your Excellency as wholly unworthy of your attention. It is in view of the fact, that my excellent and philanthropic friend, Dr. Abbot, of this city, who bears this letter, has put upon paper some valuable hints, respecting, especially, the French intervention in Mexico, that I have ventured to ask for him a few minutes of your valuable time, that he may impart his views to you. I am sure you will not consider my request for him, nor his suggestions, as impertinent or obtrusive. With profound respect, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.

The papers and statements and maps submitted to the President, had reference to various historic facts and connected views, respecting the past and present relations between the government and the people of the United States, and the governments and the people of France, of Russia, of Great Britain and of other nations. They were of a character in themselves, to suggest offices of friendly international concert and coöperation, in the accomplishment of some great objects, that concern alike the welfare and the maritime and commercial interests of all nations—objects like the telegraph round the world, which no one nation or Power ought to direct or control, but which, if accomplished by the voluntary and cordial coöperation of the leading nations, would bring about, in a decade, results for humanity, that a thousand years of isolated and conflicting efforts could not secure.

The presentation of the subject at Washington, was received with much cordial interest; and the desire was

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expressed, that the views of the Asiatic Society should be drawn out, and reduced to a plan, exhibiting a clear, distinct and full idea of its design. By request, they were thrown into the form of an imaginary Treaty, simply, as a convenient way of conveying, as briefly as possible, the idea and an outline of a plan.

A photographic map was prepared, from which the accompanying engraving has been made, to exhibit and illustrate to the eye, such bearings and relations of the subject, as were deemed appropriate to submit, to our own, and to Foreign Governments concerned.

The following is the view prepared:

Animated by a mutual desire to promote universal

"Peace on Earth and good-will to men,"

and to diffuse among all nations, the blessings of commerce, and of the peaceful arts and industries of civilization, the governments of ———, ———, ———, propose to each other, and to the Nations over which they respectively preside, the following measures for the welfare of all mankind, irrespective of Continent, country, or nationality, and for this end, do enter into a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation.

Whereas, The Creator of the World, in the configuration of its land and water surface, has singularly and significantly connected the Continents, and separated the oceans, by remarkable Isthmus sections;—in the Eastern Hemisphere, between the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf, uniting Europe, Asia and Africa;—and in the Western Hemisphere, between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, connecting North and South America;

And, has determined the metes and bounds of the habitation of all nations; and constituted the peculiar characteristics, habits, tastes, inventive genius and executive skill of different nationalities and races; and ordained the diversified features of climate, soil and natural productions of all countries, in a manner calculated to impress upon the whole human family, a fraternal and

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generous recognition of mutual and necessary dependence upon each other;—and

Whereas, The termini of the two great transit routes across these Isthmus sections in the two Hemispheres, are by their geographical position, the focal and radiant points, where the chief trunk lines of commerce necessarily concentrate and diverge; namely from the Persian Gulf eastward to Kurrachee, Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore and Australia; and from the Mediterranean Sea, westward to all points on the Atlantic Ocean, in Europe, North and South America, the West Indies, and the Gulf of Mexico, and from the American Isthmus, on the Pacific coast, to all the ports of Western North and South America, the Sandwich Islands, Japan and China, constituting as a whole, the grand interoceanic and intercontinental highway for all the principal foreign commerce of all nations; and

Whereas, The rights and interests of all mankind are concerned in the opening, the preservation, the perpetuity, and the unobstructed and suitably protected enjoyment of these great thoroughfares of travel and traffic; and

Whereas, The friendly and cordial coöperation of the great maritime powers and commercial agencies of both Europe and America is essential to the execution and protectorate of an enterprise of such world-wide, universal, and enduring interest; and that, on a scale commensurate with the magnitude and importance of the objects in view;

Now, Therefore, the High Contracting Parties, in good faith with each other, do enter into a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, under the following articles and conditions; namely,

ARTICLE I.—*Declaration.*

The High Contracting Parties, and all others who are invited to unite in this Treaty, and who may participate in the duties, responsibilities and immunities it involves, do bind themselves mutually each with the other, that they will not themselves, and will not permit others, to assume, nor to exercise any control or monopoly of these grand, fundamental trunk routes of international communication, to the exclusion of others from rights and privileges, which all nations are justly entitled to enjoy.

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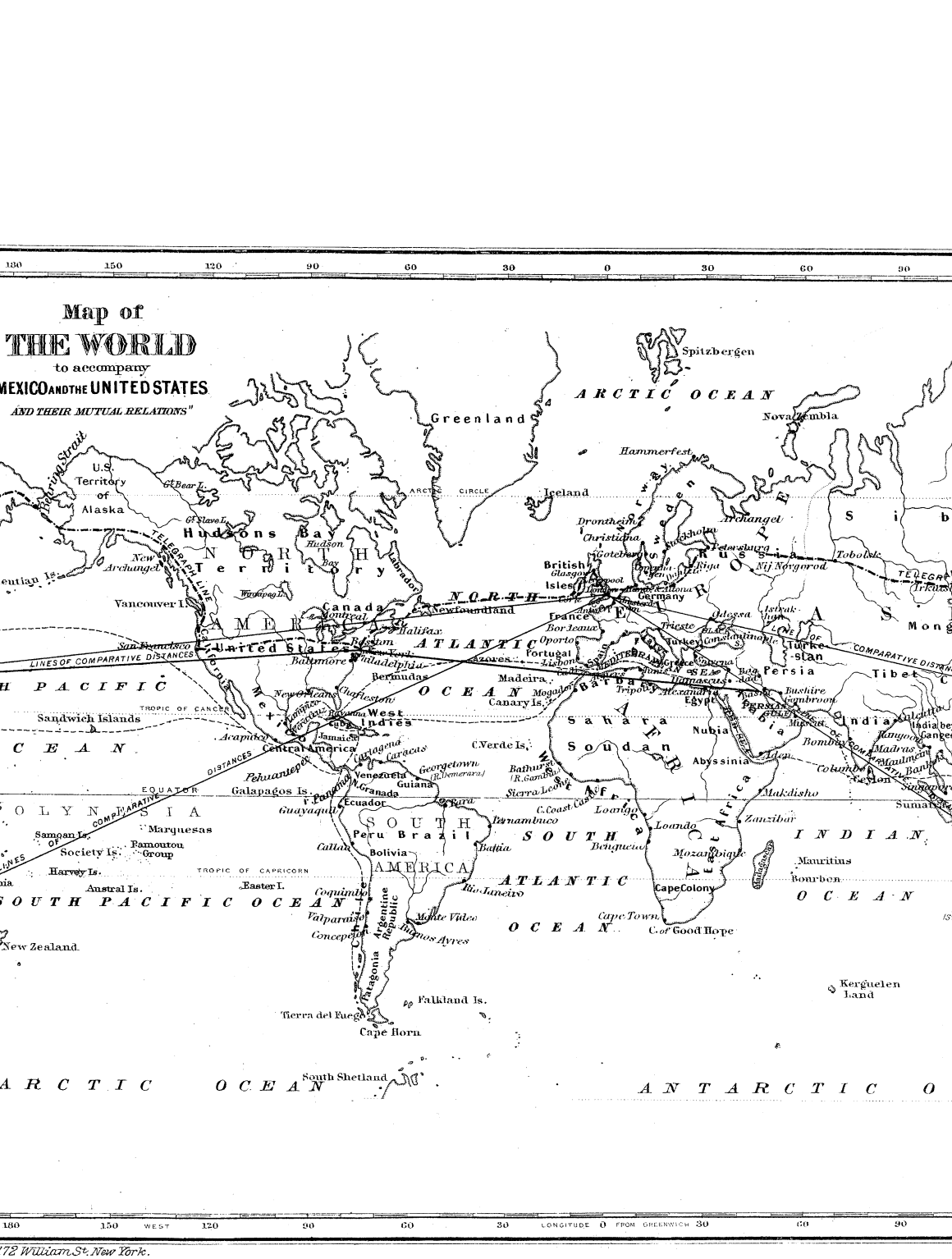

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ARTICLE II.—*International Commission.*

For the purposes of this Treaty, the High Contracting Parties agree to institute and appoint an International Commission, to consist of ——— members, ———, to be designated by each party, who, when organized as hereinafter provided, shall constitute the Universal International Commission.

ARTICLE III.—*Organization.*

§ 1. The Commissioners appointed, before proceeding to business, shall make and subscribe a solemn declaration, to be entered on their records, that they will impartially, and honestly without fear, favor, or affection for their own country, discharge all the duties of their sacred responsibility and trust, according to justice and equity, and with sole and supreme regard to the general interests and welfare of mankind.

§ 2. The Commissioners shall divide themselves, or be divided by their respective governments, at the time of their appointment, into two equal sections or bureaus, so arranged that both continents shall be equally represented in each section.

§ 3. The place of business of the European Section shall be at the City of Paris, and of the American Section, at the City of New York.

§ 4. The two sections of the Commission, shall be charged with the general direction and management of the business, on their respective continents, subject to such limitation in regard to their duties, powers and mutual relations, and such enactments in respect to their organization, and the order and formula of their administration, as the high contracting powers, in their wisdom, may prescribe.

ARTICLE IV.—*The Transit Routes.*

The parties hereto mutually agree, that they will endeavor to obtain, through their Commissioners, and by their own good offices, by cession or purchase, as hereinafter provided, from the Governments of Mexico, Central America and Turkey, a strip or belt of land not less than ———— miles in width, covering the line of the route or routes across the Isthmus sections, between

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the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf; such route or routes, as the Commission may determine, by a thorough, scientific exploration, to be shortest and best, for the purposes of international communication and commerce, by railroad, canal, and telegraph; and that such territory shall be held in trust, by their High Commission, for the benefit of all nations, on conditions framed to protect and secure the just and equal rights of all; and, that said Commission shall be empowered to construct, equip and maintain such railroad or canal, and telegraph lines, and to administer the affairs of the same, in a manner designed solely to guard and guarantee the impartial and honorable maintenance of the common welfare, and to subserve in the highest degree, the interests of universal peace, commerce and civilization.

ARTICLE V.—*The Treasury.*

The High Contracting Parties agree to create a credit of—— —— hundred millions of dollars, by an issue of National Bonds, of each Government respectively, that may unite in this Treaty, to the aggregate amount of ———— hundred millions of dollars, guaranteed by said Governments, payable within ——— years, and with interest semi-annually, at a rate not less than that of the most favorable loans of said Governments.

ARTICLE VI.—*The Guaranteed Bonds.*

The Bonds thus issued, in form and manner designating their character and object, shall be placed subject to the order of the Commissioners, to be disbursed by them, in their discretion, and as the High Contracting Parties may direct, for the purchase from the Governments concerned, of the required territory for the Transit Routes, for the exploration, construction, equipment, working and repair of the respective lines, and such expenses as may be deemed requisite, for the promotion of their efficiency, and their objects on the land and on the seas.

ARTICLE VII.—*The Transit Territory.*

The entire territory that may be secured, by cession or pur-

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chase, together with all that appertains to it; its mineral productions and its ports and harbors, shall be deemed, like the high seas, the common property of all mankind; but the revenue, of every kind, derived from tolls, freight, fares, postage, telegraphs, rents, mines, natural productions, &c., is legitimately and properly reserved and conveyed by the High Contracting Parties, to their High Commission, to be appropriated by them, to the payment of principal and interest of the debt created for the benefit of all nations; and when this reimbursement shall have been fully made, the revenues derivable from all sources, on these great highways of the world's commerce, shall be reduced to a scale adequate simply to defray the expenses of maintenance and administration.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Military Protectorate.*

It is mutually agreed that the High Contracting Powers uniting in this Treaty, shall each in turn, in the exercise of their united Protectorate over these great enterprises, furnish an adequate military protection for the scientific survey, engineering work, and construction of these transits, subject to the requisition and control of the commission, who shall be chargeable for its expenses.

ARTICLE IX.—*Immigration and Jurisdiction.*

The Commission shall be empowered to make such arrangements and concessions as may be deemed expedient and desirable, to encourage immigration into the acquired territories, for the development of agricultural and mineral resources; but no discriminating regulations shall be made either in favor of, or against, the people of any country, language, or race. But throughout the entire territories, and as far as the jurisdiction of the Commission shall extend, all persons of every nationality and race shall be secure and protected in the full enjoyment of the rights recognized under the flag of their country, including freedom of person, of opinion, of speech, of conscience, and of worship, excepting in punishment of crime, or in case of violation of the moral sense of civilized nations.

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ARTICLE X.—*Mineral Resources.*

The mineral resources of these two Isthmus Sections that may be opened by the explorations and labors of the Commission, and the extension of these highways, shall be equally accessible, and on equal terms, to the scientific knowledge and skilled labor of the subjects or citizens of all the high contracting parties, conformably with arrangements that may be made with the respective governments concerned.

ARTICLE XI.—*Time of War.*

If any of the Parties to this Treaty shall unhappily become involved in war with each other, the administration of both transits, in order to secure perfect neutrality and impartiality, shall be committed, during the continuance of hostilities, to those members of the Commission, the Governments of which are not engaged as belligerents; always providing that the number shall be equally divided between neutral Powers on each continent.

ARTICLE XII.—*Commission of International Jurisprudence.*

The High Contracting Parties further agree, as a coöperative measure in this great movement, to constitute a "Commission of International Jurisprudence" —— in number, composed of jurists eminent in their knowledge of commercial, maritime, and criminal law, in their respective countries, ———— members to be appointed by each Government respectively, who shall be charged with the preparation of a code of Laws for the government of the common territory, not inconsistent with the laws of their respective countries.

§ 1. The code of laws shall embody and state the boundaries of the Territory, the extent of the jurisdiction of the Company, its objects, powers, and franchises.

§ 2. Define the divisions, geographical or municipal, that may be desirable for the works of the company, the purposes of commerce, the administration of justice, the organization of police, or the social welfare of inhabitants.

§ 3. Prescribe the rights and duties of all residents and transient persons, while within the jurisdiction of the Company.

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§ 4. Indicate the Executive officers that may be necessary for territorial administration, together with their responsibilities and powers.

The entire system and administration of Laws, maritime, commercial, criminal, sanitary, and police, shall harmonize with those universal principles and provisions of the "jus gentium," recognized in the jurisprudence of the great powers, and be conformed to the wants and necessities of a community, where many different nationalities and races must meet and mingle in social and commercial relations, and engaged as the representatives of various and distant nations, in the conduct and interchange of a commerce, that is destined to transport and distribute to and fro, the productions and manufactures of all regions of the habitable globe.

ARTICLE XIII.—*A uniform System of Measures, Weights, and Money.*

The High Commission shall be authorized and empowered to investigate the whole subject of measure, weights, and money, as affecting the interests of the GREAT INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE of the world; and to introduce in the common territory, as in their discretion may be expedient, any system that experience or investigation may suggest, as calculated to harmonize, or diminish existing differences in the standards of measurement and value; and to establish with the concurrence of the great maritime powers and commercial nations, at least a uniformity in the *standard* of coinage, and a common unit of extension, weight, liquid and solid measure.

ARTICLE XIV.—*Sanitary Measures and Laws.*

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ARTICLE XV.—*Cabinets, Museums, &c.*

In the explorations and operations of the High Commission, it shall be their duty to make collections, as opportunities may arise, of specimens in geology, mineralogy, natural history, antiquities, and paleontology, &c., in numbers sufficient to supply a museum or cabinet, of equal interest and value, for the benefit of the government and people of each of the high contracting parties.

ARTICLE XVI.—*Records and Reports of Proceedings.*

The High Commission shall make and preserve a minute and faithful account of all their proceedings and transactions; and shall issue a bulletin as often, *at least*, as once a month, of such facts and acts as may be of interest to the High Contracting Parties; and once a year shall issue a full and detailed Report of all the action and results of the Commission. They shall be authorized to employ such literary and scientific aid as may be desirable, to embody in due historical form and manner, the fruits of discovery and exploration, in sections of the world of so much interest to all mankind and for all coming ages.

The spirit of enterprise in our age, and its grand achievements, suggest an extension of the mighty power of the combination of capital, scientific knowledge and mechanical skill. The capital, science and skill of single nations have made ours, already, an age of wonders. What might not the combined capital, knowledge and skill of the great Powers effect for the welfare of mankind! What peaceful solutions of the gravest difficulties might be reached! What strides in the career of commerce, civilization, and, in the hopes of abiding "peace on earth and good-will to men!"

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APPLICATION TO CONGRESS—1866.

In furtherance of these views and objects, the society solicited the adoption of the following resolutions, in the Senate and in the House, which were agreed to, and ordered to be printed.

March 19, 1867, Mr. Banks submitted the following in the House:

TRANSIT ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA, OF NICARAGUA, OF HONDURAS, OR OF TEHUANTEPEC.

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire and report, what measures have been taken by foreign governments or capitalists, to secure the control, in the interests of rival nations, of any of the routes or franchises, for the transits across the Isthmus of Panama, of Nicaragua, of Honduras or of Tehuantepec; and to report what action, if any, it may be advisable for the government of the United States to take, to secure the interests of American commerce on such transit routes.

Resolved, That the Committee be authorized and empowered to send for persons and papers, and to take such measures as they may judge expedient and necessary, to collect and submit the facts for the information of the government and people of the United States.

In the Senate, Mr. Cameron submitted the following, which were considered by unanimous consent, agreed to, and ordered to be printed:

MONARCHIES IN AMERICA.

Resolved, That the Committee on Foreign Relations be instructed to inquire into, and report upon, the facts in respect to the designs of foreign Powers, to impose their systems of monarchical government and institutions upon the people of this Continent, and what action, if any, our government should take, to avert the inevitable consequences of the further prosecution

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of such designs; and to maintain for ourselves and our posterity, the fundamental principles and objects of the original settlers of our country, and the traditional policy of the fathers and founders of the republic.

Resolved, That the committee be authorized and empowered to take such measures as they may judge expedient, and necessary, to collect and submit the facts, for the information of the government and people of the United States.

It was the opinion of the society, that an authorized and responsible report, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House, and on Foreign Relations in the Senate, would spread before the people of the United States, a kind and degree of information they ought to possess. Nothing is to be gained, in the future, of international coöperation or comity, by hiding from our eyes, in ignorance, the long and persistent course of foreign movements, in regard to our country and our institutions. The plain and simple facts, in respect to the two great branches of the subject, indicated in the resolutions, could not fail to command attention, and be of service in determining the attitude the government and people of the United States should assume, and the policy they should hereafter pursue, in respect to the governments and people of other lands.

LETTER TO COUNT WALEWSKY—1866.

In June, 1866, the President of the society addressed the following communication to Count Walewsky:

As President of the American-Asiatic Society, I have been requested at a meeting of its members, to be the bearer of a memorial from the society to his Majesty, the Emperor of the French, on a subject believed to be of the greatest importance to France, to the United States, and to the world at large. It is my intention to visit Paris, for the purpose of presenting this

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memorial, in the early part of July approaching. I deem it but a proper courtesy, to apprise your Excellency, of this intention, which has for its object the well-being of the whole human race.

In July, Professor Morse arrived in Paris, and in August, was joined there by another delegate from the society, the Rev. Dr. John Forsyth, who had been appointed with Dr. E. H. Champlin, to assist in the presentation abroad, of the great object of their mission.

The following is the memorial presented to the Emperor Napoleon:

MEMORIAL OF THE AMERICAN-ASIATIC SOCIETY.

To His Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of France, 1866:

The American-Asiatic Society would respectively memorialize your Imperial Majesty, to exert the great power which Divine Providence has placed in your hands, with a view to induce the maritime nations of both hemispheres, to consider the necessity of an alliance, for opening grand international avenues of commerce through certain sections of Central America and Asiatic Turkey. As one step towards this end, and as a means of securing simultaneous action on the American and the Asiatic Isthmus, your memorialists would briefly present to your Majesty's suggestive mind, the idea of a scientific congress, in which all parties interested should be represented, and which should be held in Paris during the Exposition Universelle of 1867. Through a commission previously appointed by your Majesty, an invitation could be given to the learning and the science of the several countries interested, to send representatives to discuss certain closely related questions of world-wide importance—*e. g.*, such as the expediency of a new international code, a system of international coinage and of weights and measures, of sanataria and the prevention of pestilence, the development of the precious metals, more direct lines of steamers between great commercial centres, and new trunk lines, which may help to develop the resources of countries like Arabia and Eastern Africa, which, abounding in

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wealth, are now lost to commerce and civilization. The governments of France and of the United States, as well as others, would be thus aided by the combined science of Europe and America, in ascertaining where reconnoissance is most needed, its special objects, and how it can best be accomplished. At the same time, the way may be prepared, for an amicable and permanent adjustment of all the interests concerned with the Eastern question; and more particularly, all those connected with Central America, or the Western question, on the basis of making the grand interoceanic commercial highways perfectly and permanently free to all nations; or, if this should not be feasible, of placing them under the control of international companies.

As we have reason to believe that the most important of these topics have already engaged your Majesty's attention, your memorialists would respectfully suggest, that the views of your Majesty, communicated in some appropriate way, would be of the utmost moment, in assisting to realize the objects set forth briefly in this memorial. The reports and recommendations of such a convention as is proposed, embodied in a memorial to the governments of Europe and America, would prepare the way for an international congress, clothed with power to act upon the subjects referred to it. The American-Asiatic Society would therefore respectfully suggest, as a preliminary to such international co-operation, a scientific congress, or convention, constituted and meeting as above stated, and under the Presidency of your Imperial Majesty.

The only motive which prompts your memorialists to approach your Imperial Majesty with this request is, our earnest desire to advance the glory of France and America, and the enduring welfare of humanity.

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE,
President of the American-Asiatic Society.

THOMAS F. HARRISON, Secretary.

REPLY TO THE MEMORIAL.

The following is a translation of the reply to the

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memorial, addressed to the President of the society by Baron Moustier:

PARIS, Jan. 27, 1867.

MINISTRE DES AFFAIRES ETRANGERES, CABINET:

SIR—In the name of the Emperor, I am to express to you, the interest he has found in the remarkable memorial you have addressed to him. His Majesty has examined it, with the attention it deserves, and is pleased to recognize all the merit of the project, and of the ideas which are therein developed. But in view of the various preoccupations of the present moment, and of the activity in which the Exposition of 1867 will engross all minds, it is the opinion of the Emperor, that the scientific congress which you propose, would for the present, have little chance of usefulness or success. The Emperor thinks, also, that if the ideas presented in your memorial are perfectly matured, the plan you have exhibited has not yet all the precision and completeness desirable, in order to secure at this time, the favorable reception it merits. Such, sir, is the reply that his Majesty charges me to forward to you, expressing the hope of your success, at a later date, in an idea for which, moreover, he has the highest sympathy. I avail myself of this opportunity to beg you to receive the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

MOUSTIER.

THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF MEXICO.

There are three ways in which the great problem of interoceanic communication may be solved. In either case, the interests of the two republics lie in the same direction.

First—By means of private companies or corporations.

Second—By some single nation.

Third—By a combination of the leading maritime and commercial powers.

It is too late for England, or France, or any single foreign power, to secure or maintain any territorial or

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commercial concession, to their exclusive advantage, on this continent.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, in some of its features a model for an international treaty, as to Isthmus transits, bars any independent action of the United States. The alternatives are, a private company; or, a combination among the leading powers, to hold the *two great avenues* of commerce and international intercourse, in trust, in some form, for the common benefit of mankind; with arrangements for maintaining them in the most efficient condition, guaranteeing their neutrality under all circumstances; and securing the free and perpetual enjoyment of them, for all the nations of the earth, on equal terms.

The central position occupied by France, in respect to social and commercial intercourse among the nations, the extraordinary and very prominent interest her government and people have taken in opening these great transits, and in developing the improvements which demand them, render it proper that she should take an honored part in a movement, which if made, would undoubtedly be seconded by every other nation.

The principles and stipulations involved in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, and in the "Convention of Rivas," show, plainly, the views and aims of the two governments, which thus sought to forestall any ascendency on the part of the United States over the great American transit. All the world knows the course of the same governments, to forestall each other, and all other nations, in an undue ascendency over the Eastern transit, by the way of the Isthmus of Suez Canal and the Euphrates Valley Railway. The question will yet be considered, why should England or France, or both united, have the direction and control of the "highway of the kings of the East," which, for a

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millennium, was the great thoroughfare for the commerce of the Old World. A direct railway from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, under the protectorate of the leading commercial nations, would reopen the commerce of the Orient, on a scale that would make all the past history of the Mediterranean only a "shadow of things to come." Surpassingly wonderful, are the discoveries and inventions of the age in which we live. Not less wonderful, are the power and achievements developed by the combination of capital, science and skill. All nations now are neighbors. Soon every sovereign of earth can speak with his fellows, in less time than Pharaoh could walk around a pyramid.

The world's highways belong to the world, and should be opened under such protection and guarantee, as may assure the rights of all. It is not mere curiosity that asks, what are to be the principles and regulations of the future administration of the Suez Canal, of the Euphrates Valley Railway, of any future direct route from Joppa, via Jerusalem, to Grane? and who are to control the great transits of the American Isthmus?

Whatever may be said, or claimed, in regard to the free navigation of the great rivers of the world, the Wolga, the Danube, the Rhine, the Rhone, the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Amazon; there is no doubt about the seas. The Baltic, and the Black, the Mediterranean and the Red, should be as free and open as the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, or Hudson's Bay.

The Marquis de Magny proposed to commit the guardianship, the management and control, of the route from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, and its grand complement, the transit of the American isthmus, to "the brothers of the maritime company of the religious, military and industrial Order of St. Pius," under the patron-

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age of Pope Pius IX. The patrimony of the Pope would then be, not only the keys and gates of St. Peter, but the keys and golden gates of the commerce of the world.

Whatever course the wisdom of legislators may adopt, one thing would seem to be of indispensable importance—namely, *a thorough and complete scientific survey*, of both these great isthmus sections, in a manner worthy of a work, in which all nations are concerned, and in which, all nations may well unite. Too many instances have already occurred, in which the track of a railway has been diverted from its best course, by the controlling influence of some local or private interest. A more thorough examination and survey would have saved regrets, expenditures and mortifications to the living, and almost irretrievable disadvantages entailed upon posterity. In these two instances, to which the round world can show no parallel, inviting enterprises and expenditures involving hundreds of millions, and affecting the highest material interests of the human family, it were certainly wise, as a preliminary step, to have such surveys of the territories, by the very best engineering skill of man, as would guard against mistakes and disappointments.

The Asiatic Society has sought to secure the proper action of our own, and of foreign governments to place these great interests and enterprises on the footing they ought to occupy. Some kind or form of an international commission, charged with the work of exploration and survey, of construction, maintenance and management, might be devised, that would insure, as far as human foresight can, the rights and interests of nations, and inestimable blessings to mankind.

If there be any objects that concern the material and moral welfare of the human family, in the four quarters of

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the globe, they are the opening of the two great gates of the hemispheres, for the commerce of the world. It has been well said of one of them that it would be "the mightiest event in favor of the peaceful intercourse of nations, which the physical circumstances of the globe presents to the enterprise of man."

It would be difficult to divine the effects which would follow the other. The opening of the highway between Europe and Asia, the interchange of travel and commerce between the six hundred millions of Asia, and the millions of Europe and America, would make Chicagos spring up in the wilderness of Arabia, and the desert would blossom. All nations would take a new point of departure, and a new era would open upon the race. Sooner or later, the nations will combine for the execution of such gigantic works of common and universal interest.

It has been stated, that the Emperor of China was willing to pledge $80,000,000, and coolie laborers to any extent, for the opening of the American Isthmus. If six of the leading nations would unite, in constituting a commission, and each guarantee bonds to the amount of $50,000,000 for fifty years, and purchase a tract fifty miles wide across our isthmus, at the best points for canal and railroad; and an equal width from the Mediterranean Sea to the Persian Gulf, including in it, the city of Jerusalem, and open to all nations, by rail, "the great highway" to the "city of the great King," free alike to all, it would certainly bring a solution to some great questions that have hitherto disturbed the peace of the world.

There is a city, which in some sense, belongs to our race; for it holds in its history, and in its future, the hopes and the destinies of the family of man. When its great highway and its peaceful gates are again opened to man,

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there will dawn upon the earth a new day of "peace and good will,"—a new era of commerce, civilization, and Christianity.

CHAPTER III.

CONCLUSION.

THE story of Mexico from the Conquest in 1520, to the adoption of the Constitution of the Federal Republic in 1859, constitutes a passage in the history of nations, without a parallel. The limits of this volume have not admitted the introduction of many subjects that are essential to a complete view of the Mexican war of Independence, and of the life struggles of the young Republic. Indeed, the narrative has necessarily been restricted to a very cursory sketch of great events, extending over a long period of time, but all having an essential connexion with the great final result. Many topics have been quite excluded, and many more but very imperfectly and inadequately represented. But enough, it is hoped, has been exhibited, to sustain the position it has aimed to establish. It is a matter of great regret, that the history is thus cut short, at the very point where, for some purposes, it ought to begin.

The establishment of the Constitution, the war of the Intervention, the rise and fall of the Empire, the restoration of the Republic, and the new efforts of the government at the Capital for the reconstruction of the Commonwealth, the "consolidation of peace," and the restoration of all the disturbed functions and interests of the interior life of society, would require extended narration.

The relations of England, France, Austria, and Rome, to the *great act* of the XIXth Century—great in a very

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different sense from that in which it has been heralded to the world—would require almost a volume in itself.

The story of the Intervention, its origin, objects, progress and defeat is a history of itself, which some future historian will doubtless give to the world.

The object of the present volume will appear, from a brief recapitulation of some of the leading issues, great difficulties and grand results, which have marked the heroic struggles of the Mexicans.

The leading issues may be stated, as,

1. Colonial subjection to Spain, or National Independence.
2. A Monarchical Government, or a Constitutional Republic.
3. A Spiritual despotism, or religious freedom.
4. Church and State united, or separate and independent.
5. A system of ecclesiastical, and military, fueros, and aristocratic privileges, or equal rights and laws for all.
6. A moneyed "church" despotism, holding half the wealth of the nation, and exempted from the burdens of the State, or a just and equal distribution of common property, and of burdens necessary for the common weal.
7. Class and caste prejudices, imposing endless disabilities, or equal privileges and immunities without distinction of nationality, or race.
8. Slavery or Freedom.
9. Inquisitorial intolerance, or freedom of conscience, of opinion, of speech and of the press.
10. National education, or national ignorance.
11. Blind restrictions upon international intercourse and commerce, or open doors to the interchange of the benefits of modern civilization.

Such are the leading issues which have entered into the Mexican Revolutions of the last forty years.

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The enemies and difficulties, the Mexican Republicans have had to encounter have been:

1. The Power of Old Spain.
2. The Spanish Colonial Government.
3. The Mexican Hierarchy; with all their spiritual, political, military, monetary, aristocratic, and social influence and power.
4. The military arm of the Government.
5. Diplomatic intrigue and opposition.
6. Foreign commercial interests.
7. The whole weight, moral, material, and, military, of England, France, Spain, Austria, and Rome.
8. Want of education in the masses; want of disciplined troops, and of weapons and munitions of war, of money, of officers, and of loyal, incorruptible men.

In the face of all these hostile elements, at home and abroad, in the face of all these difficulties and trials, what have they accomplished?

1. They have thrown off the yoke of the mother country.
2. They have disenthralled themselves of the despotism, political and ecclesiastical, of three centuries.
3. They have overthrown the system of fueros and class monopolies.
4. They have destroyed the tyranny of caste.
5. They have adopted one of the noblest Constitutions for a human Government ever framed, since the promulgation of the Constitution and laws of the Hebrew commonwealth, three thousand years ago.

They have modelled it after our own immortal instrument, and they have improved upon it. In their declaration of the rights of man, which echoes the sound of the trumpet of the Divine law, they proclaim the great fundamental truths, and principles which mark the progressive civilization of the age.

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1. That the "rights of man" are the basis and object of Government.
2. That all are born free in the Republic. Slaves that set foot on their soil are free.
3. Education is free.
4. Professions and vocations in life are free.
5. All compulsory, unremunerated labor prohibited.
6. Expressions of opinions are free.
7. The press is free.
8. Right of petition guaranteed.
9. Voluntary associations and assemblies free.
10. Passport requisitions abolished.
11. No titles of nobility.
12. No special laws, nor tribunals; no fueros nor monopolies.
13. No "ex-post facto" laws.
14. The domicile is sacred.
15. No punishments of mutilation or torture.

Such are some of the principles for which the patriots of Mexico have been contending. They have struggled under an accumulation of difficulties and discouragements, such as other nations have rarely encountered. The mass of the population, oppressed for ages, were poor, uneducated, and denuded of all the elements of power, influence, wealth, or material resources. Intelligent, they understood their "inalienable rights," of civil and religious liberty, and of independent and constitutional government. Resolute and determined, with unalterable convictions of the ultimate triumph of justice, with unbounded faith in a leader of stainless patriotism and incorruptible integrity, they waged the unequal contest. Undisciplined in the arts of war, they faced trained regulars. Volunteers undrilled, they coped with the "old guard." The uprising people met a banded ecclesiastical establishment, united as in one solid phalanx, with all the accumu-

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lated resources and prestige of ages, fighting for spiritual and political supremacy, wielding all the powers of the political, religious, military, and civil organizations of church and state. And then, to crown the climax of their trial, the united governments of England and France threw the weight of their moral influence, and all the intimidation of their fleets and guns, in favor of the oppressors and oppression. The threatening broadsides of foreign squadrons in the ports and harbors of the Gulf, and on the Pacific, frowned on the Republican cause.

The great powers recognized as a government "de facto," the politico-clerical cabal, which beyond the City of Mexico and a few central cities of the Republic, commanded neither the recognition, the respect, nor the allegiance of the nation.

The sympathies and covert acts of the diplomatic corps were neither disguised nor inactive, in behalf of the party of the "old regimé."

Juarez and his ministers, and the illustrious band of their co-patriots, civil and military, sustained by the masses of the native population—"THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO," with incomparable prudence, energy, and courage, were enabled to surmount all the difficulties and complications, that surrounded them. The conviction is almost irresistible that One mightier than all human powers and combinations heard the cry of the oppressed, has broken the arm of the oppressor, and guided thus far the destinies, and preserved the liberties of Mexico.

Of twenty-four States of the Republic, TWENTY-ONE STATES *and one Territory, with all the Seaports on the Atlantic and on the Pacific coasts*, officially acknowledged and sustained the liberal, constitutional government, and repudiated the other.

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Thus the long contest from 1810 to 1859, ended in the final establishment of the present democratic Republican Constitution of Mexico.

The fearful episode in the history, from 1860 to 1869 —the Intervention, the Empire, its overthrow, the restoration of the Republican government, and the re-establishment of the Constitution, only intensifies the appreciation due to the work and sacrifices of Mexico.

The most bitter, and the most formidable elements of the conflicts of ages in Europe, were transplanted to America. The direst elements of strife, the irreconcilable antagonisms which had wrought havoc among the thrones and empires of the old world, seemed to meet and spend their fury in the Empire of the Aztecs. The theatre and the parties were changed, but the principles involved were the same. Instead of a Pope, and kings, and queens, and nobles, and serfs, it was a Cortez, a viceroy, a bishop, a monk, a priest, a friar, and four millions of unenlightened aborigines, unresisting and defenceless, save in the might of eternal justice, and in the aid of that unseen power, that sees and pities, defends and liberates the slave.

The race that had writhed and groaned for centuries under remorseless oppression, attempted, to the best of their ability, to throw off the yoke of intolerable despotism. They have been abused, vilified, and denounced from one end of Christendom to the other. Is is true they are Indians. They have a dark skin. Ages of bondage have shut out almost the last ray of knowledge, and their masters have taken away its key. They are ignorant. A paganism worse than their own, has shrouded their minds in darkness, superstition, and almost despair. In their struggles for freedom, for knowledge, for self-improvement

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and self-government, instead of a word of encouragement and cheer, from "men whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high," they have received, with too few exceptions, the scorn and derision of the world.

Statesmen of England and France, in Parliament and in the "Chamber," have led the hue and cry. The enlightened journalists of London and Paris have filled their columns with abuse.

The enemies of Mexico have indulged in every species of vituperation, not of the oppressors, but of their victims. There has been little discrimination between the right and the wrong; little recognition of the claims of justice, or the deserts of tyranny; no distinction between the principles of a just government and an execrable despotism; but indiscriminate and sweeping denunciation of the victims of almost every conceivable outrage in the violation of human rights or of divine law. Plenty of contempt and derision of a priest-ridden people, but not a word of condemnation for an ignorant, debased, and profligate priesthood. Any amount of complacent detestation of ignorance, superstition, vice, and wretchedness, but not a word for that detestable, despotic system which occasioned and sustains it.

European haters of republican institutions and of the principles of civil and religious freedom, that are the glory of Americans, have plied all the arts of their vocation to extinguish the kindling spark of liberty on Mexican soil. They point to the shackles and fetters of the Atzec race, and ask if they are fitted to be free!

From Europe to America, the shuttlecock of falsehood and slander has been tossed to and fro, until the distinctions of truth, justice, and right, are lost in the clamor for "intervention in Mexico."

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Books, pamphlets, and papers repeated, exaggerated and intensified the wrong. Mexico and Brownsville, Havana and New York, Washington, London and Paris, were the great centres from which spread the foulest rumors, the most glaring falsehoods, and the most cruel wrongs.

THE FUTURE OF MEXICO.

What, then, are the hopes and prospects for the future of Mexico?

She awaits only, as President Juarez says, "The consolidation of peace;" the restoration and reconstruction of a just and equal government, and the reorganization of society. She will then enter, *with the United States*, on a new career of freedom and prosperity. She has,

1. A country, in extent, with which only one Empire in Europe can compare.
2. A geographical position among the nations, with which none other on the earth can compare.
3. A docile, plastic population of six millions, ready with open hands and hearts, to receive all the light and blessings of modern civilization and of a pure Christianity.
4. Exemption from all political and ecclesiastical domination, and complete investiture with all the prerogatives and powers of self-government.
5. A form of government, and a constitution not second in excellence, to any other in the world, not excepting our own.
6. A President of purity unimpeached; of integrity incorruptible; of energy and perseverance, indomitable.
7. A cabinet embodying men of a statesmanship and character, worthy of the confidence of their nation.
8. The organization of the various departments of government modelled after our own.

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9. A declared policy, domestic and foreign, for the administration of government, in a manner designed to secure the highest welfare of the state.

The measures already initiated are a pledge and almost a guarantee, that nothing shall be wanting to build up the fabric of social life, on sure and permanent foundations. One of the Cabinet, the Secretary of the Treasury, has been for eight years, the representative of his Government near our own, and has discharged his duties under the most trying circumstances, with an ability, discretion, and dignity worthy of any minister in Christendom. He has won for himself the esteem and respect of the Government and people of the United States. He has studied with indefatigable diligence, all the machinery and operations of our Government, and has returned to his own, with the avowed purpose of making all his experience and observations here of the result of over fourscore years of trial, subservient to the best interests of the institutions of his country.

But there is yet a great work to do. The difficulties and the obstacles are numerous and formidable—enough to embarrass the ablest and most experienced Cabinet. There is,

1. The old Spanish monarchical element, like the old tories, in the time of our Revolution.
2. The ubiquitous "Church" party.
3. Ambitious military chieftains of the Old Regime.
4. The representatives of foreign interests, commercial and otherwise, still lingering in the Republic.
5. The distant, yet unfriendly influence of Rome, Austria, France, and England.
6. The depressed condition of the masses of the native population, uninstructed in a knowledge of their rights and duties; inexperience in the exercise of the rights of citizenship, and unaccustomed to self-government.

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The prejudices of the old political and ecclesiastical rulers, the ignorance and superstitions of other classes, the antipathies of races, international prejudices, hereditary caste distinctions, and the ambitious aspirations of multitudes, all combined, environ the Government with perplexities which demand consummate patience, wisdom and skill. Then there are those who are always predicting domestic or foreign troubles. New European complications, or aggressions from the United States, are conjured up, to disturb the tranquillity and repose, which are essential to the restoration of the peaceful industry, and of the prosperity of the Republic.

There are others who believe that all these embarrassments will be overcome; that the Mexican Government and the Mexican people, will join heartily with the Government and people of the United States, in a career of just, equal and fraternal coöperation, for the development of the resources, and the advancement of the prosperity and happiness of both nations.

THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF MEXICO.

The future of Mexico must depend upon the relations established, and the policy pursued, with foreign nations. China, even, can no longer live in isolation from the rest of the world. Neighborhood and good neighborhood, are alike the true interest and policy of all people.

The relations of Mexico and of the United States, with European Powers, are compassed, at the present time, with grave and delicate considerations. And yet, it is for the welfare of the world, that injuries should be forgotten, and mutual offices of good-will encouraged.

It is perfectly evident from the statements of Mr. Lempriere, the English author of "Notes on Mexico," in

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1861–2, that the whole course and policy of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, of British Diplomacy in Mexico, of her navy and commercial marine, of her consular and mercantile agencies during the last few years, have been in violation of those principles of international comity and good fellowship, which Great Britain would have been foremost to resent, if she had been the victim. The story of the complicity of officers, of high and low degree, smuggling goods in, and smuggling bullion out, in robbery of the lawful revenue of Mexico, have been discreditable in the highest degree. As if the mightiest and wealthiest nation on the earth could not be satisfied with the honest, legitimate yield of her giant manufactures and commerce, but must pounce down upon an oppressed and enfeebled race, struggling for the rights of humanity, and for their national existence, to rob them of their lawful revenue, deprive them of the means of self-defence, and then revile them for their want of success.

It was a deplorable mistake of the FRENCH GOVERNMENT to attempt, in the dark days of the United States, to enforce by violence an unjust claim upon Mexico—to overpower the weak in their struggles to obtain the birthright of nations—independence and self-government; to paralyze their efforts to secure political, civil and religious liberty; and to extinguish the rising hopes of a young Republic. It was a melancholy sight to see France —the land of La Fayette, and of a host of the lovers and of the martyrs of liberty—France, the very name in Europe, which has been a pioneer and watchword of freedom for the nation—France! a propagandist of despotism!

But, short-sighted and mistaken as was the policy, in every point of view, in no sense was its failure more deplorable than in its commercial results. The *three hundred*

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millions spent by THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, the planning and scheming of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and aristocracy, the contingent in money, men and brains, of the other powers, openly or covertly aiding and abetting the grand conspiracy against Republican Governments, if they had been honorably employed in fair, fraternal development of the boundless resources of the United States and of Mexico, would, in less than ten years, have paid not only the entire debts of every American government, but all the debts of all the governments of Europe!

It would not have been necessary to have touched a dollar of the surface-wealth—of any of the productions of the soil, or any of the interests of manufactures, or ordinary commerce, but only the inexhaustible treasures that lie beneath the sod.

It is said that Bishop Simpson remarked, on his return from a visit, that there was wealth enough in the single State of Nevada alone, to furnish every sailor and soldier, engaged in the war of the Republic, with a silver musket and sword, and silver-mounted appointments; to lay a solid, silver railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a complete silver rolling stock and equipment; and then, leave enough to cover every American monitor and iron-clad with a thicker coat of silver than they ever had of iron!

The history of the English and of the Spanish Colonies in America, suggests striking resemblances, and still more striking contrasts. They have both struggled with the three great forms of despotism and oppression—the political, the civil, and the religious. Both have resisted monarchical pretensions, and claimed their God-given rights.

1. Both have struggled for national independence, and

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have established their organic freedom, in the rights and exercise of self-government.

2. Both have repudiated human slavery and peonage, and have asserted and maintained the inalienable rights of individual liberty.

3. Both claim absolute religious freedom, separation of Church and State, freedom of opinion, of conscience, of speech, of worship, and of universal education.

All danger from the first has passed away. The second, no power can reimpose. The conflict for the third and the last, is apparently settled in both Republics. Yet no considerate observer of the signs of the times, but must notice the ground-swell of movements that forebode a coming conflict still.

But the great mistake and crowning folly of all has been that of Rome,—the absurd and impotent attempt of the Pope and Papal powers, to impose upon the people of the New World, in the free air of the XIXth century, the preposterous pretensions of a thousand years ago; and to reaffirm and promulgate, as legislation binding to-day, upon *twelve hundred millions of the human race*, and upon all coming generations, down to the "last syllable of recorded time," the repudiated dogmas and decrees of a packed council of *two hundred and forty-seven* gentlemen, three centuries ago!

But such is the case. The Roman Catholic Church may be the most numerous, the most wealthy, the most powerful organization that ever existed. But she is no greater in our day, than Nebuchadnezzar was in his. If she plants herself on principles at war with the teachings and spirit of Christianity, if she defies the deepest philosophical, political, mental and moral convictions of more than half of Christendom, and sets at nought the common

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sense of mankind, and says, "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the Kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my Majesty?" the lament will soon be heard, at least on one side of the Atlantic, "Alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city, is fallen! is fallen!"

THE POPE'S NUNCIO TO MEXICO.

In October, 1864, Pope Pius IX. sent his Nuncio to the Emperor in Mexico, with a letter, foreshadowing the denunciations against republican principles, in his famous Encyclical in December.

He reminds the Emperor of "his promise to protect the Catholic Church," and conjures him, in the "name of the faith and piety of his august family," "in the name of the Church," of which he (Pius) "was the supreme Chief and Pastor," "in the name of Almighty God," to put his hand to the work of restoring what the liberals had taken away; of repealing the laws of reform, "of repairing the evils of the revolution," and "of bringing back as soon as possible, the happy days of the Church," and of the Catholic religion, which must above all things continue to be, the glory and mainstay of the Mexican nation, "*to the exclusion of every other dissenting worship.*" He repudiated all the distinctive reforms, and called on the Emperor, to "give a striking example, to the other governments in *the Republics of America*, in which similar, very similar vicissitudes have tried the Church."

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

In the Encyclical letter of Pope Pius IX., December, 1864, he reiterates the denunciations, by his predecessors, of the "errors and heresies," of modern civilization; and repeats his own denunciations, in his Encyclical of November 9, 1846, and his allocutions of December 9, 1854, and June 9, 1862. He "condemns the monstrous and portentous opinions of the present age," as "errors and heresies hostile to moral honesty, and to the eternal salvation of mankind." He "admonishes all the sons of the

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Catholic Church to shun these errors of the age, as they would the contagion of a fatal pestilence." He condemns "the false, perverse, *detestable opinions*, that would hinder and banish the salutary *influence which the Catholic Church* by the institution and command of her Divine Author, *ought freely to exercise*, even to the consummation of the world, *not only over individual men, but over nations, peoples and sovereigns.*" He characterizes as a "totally false notion of social government," "that erroneous opinion, most pernicious to the Catholic Church, and to the salvation of souls," "called by our predecessor, Gregory XVI., in his Encyclical, August, 1832," *the insanity*," that "LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, and of WORSHIP IS THE RIGHT OF EVERY MAN!" and "that this right, in every well-governed State, ought to be asserted and maintained by the law," "and that the citizens possess the right," "to publish and put forward openly, all their ideas whatsoever, either by speaking, in print, or any other method." "*It is the liberty of perdition*, to be free to human arguments, to discuss:" that some dare to proclaim, "that the will of the people, manifested by public opinion, as they call it, or by other means, constitutes a supreme law:" "and make common cause with the falsehoods of the heretics, in declaring that the religious orders have no right to exist," and "by impious opinions, these false teachers endeavor to eliminate the teaching and influence of the Catholic Church from the instruction and education of youth;" "and that the Catholic clergy should be deprived of all participation in the work of teaching and training the young,"—"presume with *extraordinary impudence*, to subordinate the authority of the Church and of this Apostolic See, to the judgment of civil authority;"—"that the excommunications launched by the Council of Trent, and the Roman Pontiffs against those who invade and usurp the possessions of the Church and its rights," are only "to attain a mere earthly end," "that the right of the Church is not competent to restrain with *temporal penalties*, the violators of her laws," "and that it is in accordance with the principles of theology, and of public law, for the civil government to appropriate property possessed by churches, the religious orders, and other pious establishments."

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In virtue of her "plenary power, to guide, to supervise and govern the Universal Church," and of "his Apostolic authority, he reprobates, denounces and condemns generally, and particularly, ALL THESE evil opinions and doctrines," and desires them, "to be reprobated, denounced and condemned by all the children of the Catholic Church."

The last stronghold of human despotism is in that power which thus claims supremacy, not merely over the organization of human society, and the governmental principles and agencies of a nation's life; not merely over the personal freedom, labor, and service of men, but over the *human soul*, the life within. It claims a throne —GOD'S THRONE,—in every man's heart, and arrogates to itself a sovereignty over his thoughts, his opinions, his conscience, faith, worship, final destiny, and eternal salvation.

In view of the foregoing reiterated assertion of the principles and purposes of the Papal power, who shall say that we have not yet a fiercer war to wage for human rights, than the world has ever seen? The last great battle between despotism and freedom may be yet to come.

The battle array, on the one side, is the "Army of the Nations," who claim the "rights of man;" on the other, that old traditional despotism of Rome—the consolidated organization of a thousand years. Its origin, history, discipline, wealth, and power are known. Its principles and present attitude of defiance are loudly proclaimed to the world.

It is the grand pronunciamento—not of a "Church" party in Mexico, against a handful of Republicans resolved there "to do or die,"—but it is the pronunciamento of the Great Hierarchy of the Earth, against ALL THE GREAT PRINCIPLES of modern civilization. Republican-

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ism to-day, is a synonym for "human rights." IT MEANS HUMAN RIGHTS, political, civil, religious, educational, commercial, in America, in Mexico, in Spain, in Great Britain, all over the world.

It is vain to close our eyes against the number and designs of its enemies. They can neither be cloaked nor concealed.

But notwithstanding all the foregoing complications, difficulties, and antagonisms, it is inexpressibly desirable, that all modern nations should lay aside the sword, and vie with each other, hereafter, in the promotion of the peaceful arts and industries of life, and the universal spread of civilization and Christianity.

THE UNITED STATES.

As for their policy, whatever it may be, fellowship and good feeling are not to be promoted by ignoring the stubborn facts of history, in regard to the animosities and hostile designs and efforts of foreign nations. They should be known, that we may be on our guard.

In respect to Great Britain, the course and policy of her government and aristocracy are somewhat compensated by the staunch sympathy, in the day of our struggle, of her "toiling millions." They are now marching on, to share with us, the blessings of a wider liberty and a more diffused prosperity.

In respect to France, the United States will never forget the France of seventy years ago, nor the old traditional ties that bind the two nations.

The following is an interesting reminiscence of what France did for us. (Sparks' Life of Gouverneur Morris, vol. i. p. 380, Jefferson's Works, vol. iii. p. 191.)

"The whole amount advanced to the United States, by the

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Court of France, during the war of Independence, was 18,000,000 livres. Part of this was generously offered as a "don gratuit," but it was accepted only as a loan, and by a convention between Count Vergennes and Franklin, signed on the 16th July, 1782, it was agreed that interest at 5% should be paid on it, from the day of the conclusion of peace."

"The French Government became responsible also for other debts of the United States, contracted in Holland and elsewhere, amounting to 16,000,000 livres, so that the whole American debt to France, at the commencement of 1784, was 34,000,000 livres tournois. Most of this bore interest at 5%, and was to be repaid, at intervals, after a delay of twelve years."

"At the close of 1789, M. Necker being sorely pressed for money, made indirect propositions to the American Government for an immediate repayment of this loan at a great discount. These propositions were not accepted. 'Washington,' then President, said, 'Justice and honor require that our debt to France should be fully paid, and that we should in no wise profit by the temporary embarrassment of her finances.'"

"A law of Congress was immediately passed, appropriating money, and authorizing a new loan in Holland for the early acquittal of this sacred debt. The repayments were commenced on the 3d December, 1790, and before the events of the 10th August, 23,717,639 livres had been paid."

"The sympathy and gratitude towards Louis XVI. which existed, and which still exists, in the United States, are not confined to the unfortunate King."

"That nation which is ever ready, to succor the oppressed, and which prefers generous ideas to material interests, must ever possess the admiration of freemen, and above all, the grateful remembrance of Americans."

The proclamation of the First Consul has made an impression that cannot be obliterated:

"*Washington is dead! This great man fought against tyranny. He has established the liberty of his country. His memory will ever be dear to the French Na-*

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tion, as to every freeman of the two worlds; and especially to the French Soldiers, who like him, and the American Warriors, fought for liberty and equality.

"*In consequence of which, the First Consul commands, that for the space of ten days, black crape shall be hung upon all the standards and colors of the Republic.*"

George Sumner said, in 1847, to Lamartine:

"The debt of American gratitude is due to the whole French Nation, but the desire to individualize, if I may so say, the expression of that gratitude, has caused the names of three Frenchmen to be graven on every American heart—the names of La Fayette, Louis XVI., and Vergennes. And if this trinity of the well-beloved be completed by one whose actions were less prominent—whose services less known to fame—than those of the other two, it is that Vergennes was the first friend America found among those having authority with Louis XVI. It was he who staked his reputation as a minister upon the success of her struggle—he who proposed always generous aid to her cause, and he, who, in his diplomatic relations with the American Ministers—Franklin and Jefferson, showed always a loyal and honorable spirit."

"At the present day, the American pilgrim who comes to Versailles, to visit that monument dedicated to 'All the glories of France,' pauses in a more humble temple—the Church of Notre Dame—and offers there his tribute of affection and respect at the tomb of Vergennes—at the tomb of that Frenchman who, swaying the counsels of his sovereign, and having influence over the opinions of the nation, never forgot to be generous and just to America."

GENERAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

The following article is from the pen of an eminent American author, whose views represent the sentiments of a large circle of the most intelligent American citizens.

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"It seems desirable that there should be some formal, distinct and authoritative announcement to the following effect, of the attitude which the Government and people of the United States should henceforth assume and maintain before the world."

"1. That the principle of government adopted for themselves, by the American people, is to commit the direction of public affairs to the general intelligence, good sense, and *understanding of their own interests*, possessed by the *whole population*, instead of entrusting this power to the supposed superior knowledge and ability of privileged classes, or families. To this end, it is our plan to afford every member of the community, the means of coming to a proper understanding of his rights and his interests, as affected by the measures of government and by the laws, and then to elect governmental officers, both legislative and executive, whose province it is, not to *frame and determine upon, themselves*, the public policy to be pursued, but to devise and mature the best means for *carrying into effect the policy desired by the people*.

"2. That while we are satisfied that this system is, for us, the wisest, the safest, the most just, and the most promotive of the general happiness, we have no wish to urge, or even to recommend the adoption of it, by any other people. We desire to leave every community free, without any interference, direct or indirect, on our part, to adopt such a system for themselves, as they may find most consonant with their ideas or their traditions, and most conducive to their interests,—having no wish that our system should be adopted by any other people, except so far as they find by their observation of its effects, that it is promotive of the general peace, prosperity, and happiness."

"3. In respect to questions which may hereafter arise, of the union of other political communities with ours, inasmuch as no such union is possible under our system, except on the condition of granting to the people thus admitted, *their full share of power* in the government of the whole country, we do not consider that the incorporation of any foreign state into our system, is to be regarded in the light of an acquisition of territory, inuring chiefly to the benefit and aggrandizement of this government; but rather

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as the admission of an outside party to a participation in the benefits of a great, powerful and prosperous combination. We ask for no such unions of foreign communities with ours, on our own account; but if hereafter, any other community, whether its territory be conterminous with ours or not, shall desire on *their* account to be admitted to our system, we shall consider the proposal with every disposition to comply with it; provided, it shall be found safe for us to do so, as well as advantageous for them. This caution will be necessary, since any people so admitted into the union, come into possession of a *very important share of power, in respect to our own rights and interests.* The union of a political community with the United States, is a very different thing from the annexation of a territory to a kingdom. In the latter case, an annexed territory comes under the *control* of a government. In the former, an admitted population comes into the possession of a *power.* A new state, received into this union, will, thereafter, exercise as great a power, over the present states, in proportion to her population, as the present states over her. The people of the British provinces to the north of us, for example, have no voice whatever in the government of the British empire. The relation,—so far as they are connected with the government of the empire at all, is one of subordination and subjection on their part. Whereas, if they were admitted to this union, their senators and representatives at Washington, would have an equal voice with those of the oldest states, in regulating the interests and directing the policy of the whole country."

"4. While we thus disavow all intention or wish to recommend, directly or indirectly, our system of government to the adoption of other nations, or to seek, on our own account, any enlargement of the present union, we earnestly desire to be on friendly terms with all the other nations of the earth; to cultivate the most free and the most extensive commercial and social intercourse with them; and to coöperate, so far as it may lie in our power, in all plans and measures for promoting the prosperity and happiness of all mankind. To this end, we attach special interest and importance to the means now in course of development, in various parts of the world, for opening new channels of

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commerce, and perfecting new modes of international communication. We believe that these improvements have a most powful and salutary influence in promoting a good understanding among the various races and nations of the earth, and in advancing the general welfare; and we are on our part, desirous of cooperating with other governments in effecting such improvements, by every means in our power."

THE GENERAL POLICY OF MEXICO.

The following anecdote is one of many which illustrates the spirit of the President of the Republic, and it is believed, of his cabinet. As long as the policy of Mexico is under the inspiration of such men, we may hope well for the future.

In January 1857, the President and Cabinet left the city of Durango, on their way to the capital. On reaching Sombrete, they were met by delegation after delegation, and by crowds of men, women, and children, as if the whole city had come out to welcome him.

"President Juarez," says an eye-witness of the scene, "I noticed, as in nearly all his speeches, admonished the people that it would not be the conclusion of their efforts, when they should be freed from the French. Then comes the 'consolidation of peace.' Avoid," said he, "civil dissensions, and cultivate harmony and obedience to the laws."

At the principal building of the place, where the President was received, the people had spread a French flag on the pavement, over which whoever entered the building, had to walk. I did not observe the President as he went in; but walking out with the Minister of War, General Ygnacio Mejia, I observed that he avoided stepping on it as much as possible. One of the principal citizens of the place also noticed it, and exclaimed, "You

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do not tread upon the French flag." "I admired," says the eye-witness, "his noble manner."

"*It is the French Emperor, not France that makes war upon us. France is Republican at heart, and will soon lead the van in republicanizing the Old World, while we, in connection with the United States, will republicanize the New. That flag represents the French people, and will yet assert its republican rights; let us therefor, respect it in that light.*"

Let not, then, Juarez, nor his cabinet, nor Romero be discouraged. Rome was not built in a day. And "time" that "respects nothing but what time creates," will sooner or later vindicate their principles and crown their labors with success.

THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE TWO REPUBLICS.

If the views and statements of this volume are correct, the two Republics have a common cause, mutual relations, and identical interests.

It is to be hoped that no American will seek to repeat the Texas outrage on the rights of Mexico; and urge the present feebleness of the Republic, as an occasion for the further unwilling dismemberment of her territory. If any doubt the wrong of 1846, let him read Dr. Channing's letter to Henry Clay.

It were better for the United States to say unto her younger sister, "We will give you our best monitor and iron-clad; we will give you a whole arsenal of weapons and munitions of war; indeed we will *lend* you our La Fayettes, and if it be necessary, one of our six and thirty Stars, till your conflict is over, rather than avail ourselves of your dark and trying day, to take a rood of your soil."

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"We will repay to you, with interest, more than we ever sought or obtained from France, in the struggles of our infancy."

By such a course, no doubt, any desirable re-arrangement of boundary, as between two neighboring and friendly Republics, would be settled with credit and honor to all concerned.

But the future of Mexico *is* uncertain. It may be that all the Santa Annas of Mexico are not dead: that the Masons and Slidells of the Republic are still intriguing abroad, or plotting treason at home; that a disappointed and desperate hierarchy are still throwing their toils over some venal, military traitor, to induce him to betray his country, and pronounce once more against its noble Constitution, and initiated system of Government and law.

But it should be remembered that we had our Arnold, our Burr and Blennerhassett. That our Washington had a price set upon his head. There is a head in Mexico now, that would command a larger bounty in Europe to-day. It may be, even now, that some foreign hireling may be prowling around the purlieus of the Mexican Capital, plotting there to avenge with the poniard or the bullet, the fate of the fallen Empire.

But let not the Mexican Patriots be discouraged. Their work is great. The reconstruction of a government, the regeneration of a race, the establishment of a new and mighty People, in the very centre of the great modern movements of commerce and civilization, is worthy of all their labors, their sacrifices and their woes.

Let them take cheer from the words of Lincoln, "THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO MUST RISE AGAIN!"

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